



Resisting Language Shift:

A Study on Parental Language Ideologies in

Singaporean Chinese Families

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Declaration

I have read and understood The University of Edinburgh guidelines on Plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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16th August 2011

Abstract

Evidence from census data (Singapore Department of Statistics, Census Key Findings, 2011) has pointed to a societal language shift towards English as the predominant home language across all three major ethnic groups in Singapore. This dissertation investigates the parental language ideologies in families which are maintaining Mandarin at home. It focuses on the Chinese community which forms the majority of the population in the country. I have conducted a pilot study on a young Singaporean Chinese family (Lea, 2011). Building on this case study, I draw the hypothesis that families who are maintaining Mandarin at home are trying to achieve dynamic bilingualism as their child-rearing goal and seek to investigate why. In the research project reported in this dissertation, the case study was replicated in four other families. Using interview as the main method of data collection, it was found that the underlying parental language ideology motivating these parents to achieve “dynamic bilingualism” as their child-rearing goal is the desire to maintain Mandarin as an identity marker while being proficient in English.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The multi-ethnic and multilingual society of Singapore has seen an increasing shift towards English, in place of the ethnic languages, as the predominant home language in recent times. Amidst the societal language shift, some parents are still maintaining their ethnic languages as a home language with their children. In this dissertation, I will seek to investigate the parental language ideologies underlying their family language policies.

1.1 The socio-linguistic context in Singapore

Since declaring its independence in 1965, the multilingual environment of a multi-ethnic Singapore has seen many changes. English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil were institutionalized as the official languages (Constitution of the Republic of Singapore 1965, 1985 Revised version). A bilingual policy, which has been defined in official discourse as “Mother Tongue and English” (The Straits Times (ST), 10 May 1971:5), was implemented. In Singapore, the term “Mother Tongue” refers to the language associated with one’s ethnicity (Ministry of Education (MOE), Education Statistics Digest, 2008: v). Malay, Mandarin and Tamil were designated as the “Mother Tongues” of the respective three major ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese and Indians (Kuo, 1980, cited in Dixon, 2005a). English was promoted by the government as the inter-ethnic communication and working language (ST, 15 June 1971; MOE, 2000: Para 4) and positioned as the language for global communication and economic success. At the same time, proficiency in the Mother Tongue languages was seen as the link to the cultural roots and Asian values in the official discourse (Lee, 1971; ST, 15 June 1971; Chua, 2004). Mandarin was promoted as the intra-ethnic communication language for the dialectically diverse Chinese community in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng, 1999: 222), which spoke a range of Chinese dialectal languages such as Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese and Hokkien, and account for over 70% of the population (Singapore Department of Statistics, Key Population Findings, 2010). Along with the nation’s bilingual policy, the government established a bilingual education policy in 1966 (The Goh Report, 1979; Ministry of Education (MOE), 2009a: Para 9). A reform in education in 1979 saw the implementation of the “New Education System” (The Goh Report, 1979) and the transition to the current model of bilingual education (Dixon, 2005a), where only English is used as the medium of instruction for most content

subjects and the Mother Tongue languages are taught as language subjects in schools (MOE, 2009a: Para 2; Pakir, 2008: 193).

However, as a consequence of this “English-knowing” bilingual education policy, a two-fold language shift has been observed in Singapore (Pakir, 2008:196). First, the historically multi-dialectal speaking Chinese community has shifted towards using Mandarin, in place of the various Southern Chinese dialectal languages such as Teochew, Hokkien, Cantonese and Hainanese, as the home language. More significantly, it has been observed that there is a continuous shift towards using English, in place of the ethnic languages, as the dominant home language across all ethnic groups in the nation (Pakir, 2008: 196; Singapore Department of Statistics, 2011).

In this research project, I had focused on the observed shift towards English in Singapore. Set against this backdrop of an increasing trend of using only English as the predominant home language in Singapore’s society, there are some Singaporean Chinese families who are maintaining Mandarin in the home setting. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the parental language ideologies of these families who are adopting a bilingual policy by maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages with their children.

1.2 Problem statement and research question

To understand why some parents are maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages by adopting a bilingual policy despite a societal shift towards using only English as the predominant home language, it is necessary to investigate the ideologies underlying these parents’ family language policies. To do so, I conducted a pilot study (Lea, 2011) which will be described in further detail in Chapter 4, on a young family with an eighteen-month-old child to investigate the parental language ideologies motivating their home language management efforts. Based on the findings of this study, I concluded that the young parents were trying to achieve “dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, 2009a) as their child-rearing goal. “Dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, 2009a) refers to the complex bilingual competence needed by an individual where “language use is multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual, multimodal terrain of the communicative act” (Garcia, 2009b: 378), and seeks to view bilingualism, instead of

monolingualism, as the starting point in the studies and understanding of bilingualism (Garcia, 2009a).

To further investigate this situation, the research was repeated in four other families who are currently maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages. Therefore, in this dissertation, I will attempt to answer the following research question: Are parents who are maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages with their children motivated by the aim of achieving dynamic bilingualism for their children, and if so, why?

1.3 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows. First, in Chapter 2, I will give a background introduction to the sociolinguistic context of Singapore, describing the language policy of the country and the language shift which has been observed since independence in 1965. Chapter 3 reviews previous research on the area of language maintenance and language shift, intergenerational language transmission and family language policy. The results from the pilot study and the methods of data collection and analysis used in this research will be discussed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I will answer my research question by presenting the findings from my research, drawing on the common themes discussed by the interviewees. I will also discuss the implications of my findings. Finally, I will conclude by looking at the limitations of my research and suggest directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Context of the research – Languages in Singapore

The pursuit for bilingualism in Singapore has its socio-historical roots in the history of this multilingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nation. A socio-historical introduction of Singapore's ethno-linguistic environment will be necessary to understand the context of this research project. I will give an overview of the linguistic environment of Singapore as an immigrant society before turning to the language policy introduced after it achieved independence from the British government in 1965. Lastly, I will discuss the consequence of the language policy.

2.1 Singapore - A multi-ethnic and multilingual society

Singapore has been a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multilingual society since its colonial days in the 1800s (Turnbull, 2009, cited in Chua, 2010: 415). The largely immigrant population comprises of three major ethnic groups, where the percentage shares have remained relatively constant for a century (Chew, 1983, cited in Siddique, 1990: 59). The Chinese consistently forms the majority of the population at above 70%, while Malays and Indians make up about 14% and 7% of the population respectively (Pakir, 2008: 192; Singapore Department of Statistics, Key population findings, 2010). However, historically, the linguistic repertoire of the people on the island was much more complex than what is being reflected by this simplified categorization (Siddique, 1990: 35-36, 40-54). There are many sub-groups within these three main ethnic groups and each group speaks a different language. For example, the Chinese immigrants were mainly from Southern China and spoke about ten different 'dialects' of Chinese, such as Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese, Hakka and Hokkien (Chua, 1964, cited in Dixon, 2005a: 26). Tamil-speaking Indians formed the largest sub-group in the Indian ethnic group but there were also Indians who spoke other Indian languages such as Punjabi, Gujarati and Malayalam (Siddique, 1990: 36). While the Malays were often thought to be the most ethnically homogenous group, they could still be sub-divided into Malay speaking people from the Malay Peninsula and those of Indonesian origin who spoke languages such as Javanese, Boyanese and Bugis (Siddique, 1990: 36). The remaining 1-2% of the population comprising mainly of the Eurasians (Siddique, 1990: 36), who

are descendants of a marital union between a European and a local Asian (The Eurasian Association of Singapore) and the Europeans, who settled in Singapore during the colonial times, spoke English (Gupta, 1994: 37, cited in Wee, 2002b: 288) and a variety of other languages.

2.2. Language policy in Singapore

The linguistic environment of Singapore has seen many changes since its independence from the British colonial government in 1965. The government adopted the “Chinese-Malay-Indian-Others” (CMIO) model, which is a simplified representation of the ethnic composition of the population (Siddique, 1990: 35-36). In terms of language policy, English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil were institutionalized as official languages (Republic of Singapore Independence Act 1965, 1997 Revised version), with the latter three being designated by the Singapore government as the representative “Mother Tongue” languages of the respective ethnic groups (MOE, Mother Tongue Language Policy)¹. However, they may not necessarily be the real home languages of the concerned. For example, Mandarin was not the home language of most ethnic Chinese at the time of independence (Chua, 1964, cited in Dixon, 2005a: 27) as most were speaking the different Chinese dialectal languages, while Malay was spoken by about 70% of the Malays and only 60% of the Indian population were Tamil speaking. Hence, the choice of the three “Mother Tongues” has been criticised as being “politically motivated” (Puru Shotam, 1989, cited in Dixon, 2005a: 27).

A bilingual policy, in which bilingual means “English plus one official Mother Tongue” (ST, 15 June 1971), was implemented by the Singapore government in 1966 (MOE, 2009a: Para 9)². English, viewed as the “ethnically neutral” lingua franca (Wee, 2002a:

¹ The inclusion of non-Tamil Indian languages as a Mother Tongue subject in Singapore education system was introduced only in the 1990s. For more details, refer to “FY 2007 Committee of Supply Debate” Para 28-30.

http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/speeches/2007/sp20070307a_print.htm

² The bilingual policy implemented in 1966 has its roots in the “1956 All Party Report”, a document from Singapore’s pre-independence days. This report gave equal treatment to all language streams in schooling and emphasized bilingualism (and trilingualism) as an education outcome (ST, 31 March 1956). Refer to Bokhorst-Heng, 1999, Chapter 4 for a further discussion.

1111), was promoted as the inter-ethnic communication (ST, 15 June 1971; MOE, 2000: Para 4) and the “unifying working language at the national level” (Kuo, 1983: webpage). It was also posited as the language for socio-economic mobility in the Singapore society as it was not seen as being advantageous to any particular ethnic group (ST, 15 June 1971; Wee, 2010: 98). The government believes that acquisition of English, the language of modern trade, investments and Western science and technology advancement (Lee, 1971; MOE, 2010a: Para 8), is vital for global communication and economic success. On the other hand, policy makers also believe that proficiency in the “Mother Tongue” languages provides the connection to an individual’s ethnicity and cultural roots and safeguards Asian values (Lee, 1971: webpage; ST, 15 June 1971)³. In 1979, the annual “Speak Mandarin Campaign” was launched to promote Mandarin as the intra-ethnic communication language for the dialectically diverse Chinese community in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng, 1999: 222; Chua, 2004: 69), which accounts for over 70% of the population (Singapore Department of Statistics, Key population findings, 2010).

The government made changes in the language-in-education policy to ensure a successful implementation of the bilingual policy at the national level. Prior to independence, there were four types of schools in Singapore, providing education using English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil as the medium of instruction for all content subjects (The Goh Report, 1979: 2-1). Along with the nation’s bilingual policy, a bilingual education policy was established in 1966 (The Goh Report, 1979: 2-3; MOE, 15 August 2009), in which English was first introduced as a compulsory subject, and then gradually introduced as the medium of instruction for science and maths, for all students enrolled in non-English medium schools (ST, 19 November 1968:4; Dixon, 2005: 27-28). “Mother Tongue” languages were also introduced as a language subject and the medium of instruction for civics lessons in English-medium schools (ST, 19 November 1968; The Goh Report, 1979:Chapter 1-2; Dixon, 2005: 27-28). It was a gradual transition to an English-medium education for all. Starting with Primary One in 1966, maths and science were required to be taught in English (The Goh Report, 1979: 2-4). A reform in education in 1979 (The Goh Report, 1979) saw the implementation of

³ For a further discussion on the Singapore government’s position on the roles of English and the Mother Tongue languages in Singapore, refer to Chua (2004) and Wee (2009).

the “New Education System” (ST, 5 July 1979) and the implementation of a bilingual education which gives premier status to English (The Goh Report, 1979: Chapter 1, Conclusion). Pakir (1992) has coined this form of bilingual education as “English-knowing”, adopting Kachru’s (1983) term “English-knowing bilingualism”. By 1987, only English is used as the medium of instruction for content subjects and the Mother Tongue languages, i.e. Mandarin, Malay or Tamil, are taught only as language subjects in schools (Pakir, 2008: 193). Literacy rate in two or more languages in the population has risen over the decades as a result of the bilingual policy, as evidenced by census data (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2000; 2010: webpage).

2.3 Language shift in Singapore – in particular in the Chinese community

As a consequence of the language policies, a two-fold language shift has been observed in Singapore (Pakir, 2008: 196). First, thirty years after the launch of the annual “Speak Mandarin Campaign”, the government has successfully encouraged the historically multi-dialectal speaking Chinese community to shift towards using Mandarin, replacing the various Southern Chinese languages such as Teochew, Hokkien, Cantonese and Hainanese as the home language. The success of the campaign has been attributed to the attrition and loss of these languages in Singapore (Pakir, 2008: 194). More significantly, there is a continuous shift towards using English, in place of the ethnic languages, as the predominant home language across all ethnic groups in the nation (Pakir, 2008: 196; Singapore Department of Statistics, 2011: Section 2). According to the latest census conducted in 2010, 32.6% of the Chinese population reported using English as the predominant home language, compared to 23.9% in 2000. The Malays saw an increase from 7.9% in 2000 to 17.0% in 2010, while the figures for the Indian population stands at 41.6% in 2010 compared to 35.6% in 2000 (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2011: Section 2, Table 4)

The breakdown of these figures shows that language shift is the most significant in the younger age groups and this has led to growing concerns from the nation leaders. Among Singapore residents aged 5-14 years, 51.9% of the Chinese are using English as the home language in 2010 compared to 35.8% in 2000. Malays also saw a significant rise in figures, from 9.4% in 2000 to 25.8% in 2010, in the shift towards the use of

English as the predominant home language. 50.3% of the Indians in the same age group are using English as the predominant home language compared to 43.6% of them in 2000 (figures retrieved from Singapore Department of Statistics, 2011, Section 2 Chart 1).

Singapore's former Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew, who was Prime Minister from 1959 until 1990, and who had been both instrumental and influential in the formulation of the bilingual policy in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng, 1999: 187) until recently, has expressed his concern towards the language shift. He publicly called for Singaporean parents to maintain their ethnic languages as the home language, because "more and more families speak English at home. That's not a good sign for mother tongue" (Lee, 2011: webpage). In addition, he has also encouraged parents to speak in their mother tongues with their children so that the younger generation will continue to use the mother tongues and face less difficulty learning the mother tongues in school (e.g. Lee, 2009: Para 14).

Recently, while the government continues to assign a cultural role to the Mother Tongue languages, it has also added to its repertoire the economic benefits of maintaining the official Mother Tongue languages (Wee, 2003: 216; Lee, 2010: webpage) and especially Mandarin (Tan, 2006) in Singapore. Nonetheless, the latest census data reveals rather strikingly that shift towards using English as the predominant home language is a trend to stay.

It is against this socio-linguistic background that I chose to examine the parental language ideologies of Singaporean Chinese parents who are maintaining Mandarin as one of their home languages, despite an increasing societal shift towards using English as the predominant home language.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This research project builds on the rich research literature on language shift and language maintenance and on family language policy. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to provide a review of relevant literature to put my research purpose - to investigate the parental language ideologies of Singaporean Chinese families who are maintaining Mandarin as the home language in spite of a societal language shift towards English as the predominant home language in Singapore - into perspective.

3.1 The role of language policy in language maintenance and language shift

Language policy as an interdisciplinary field of research has been studied from many perspectives. Some fields of inquiry include the investigation of the role of language policies in the process of nation-building and national-unification, the role of language policies in the reproduction and persistency of social and economic inequality, and the role of language policies in language shift and maintenance (Ricento, 2006: 13). Various models have also been proposed for the study of language policy. For instance, in early literature, where interest of research is mainly on the role of language in nation-building, Kloss (1969) proposed using the status-planning/corpus-planning typology, while Copper (1989) enhanced this typology by introducing the notion of acquisition planning. Haugen (1983) added to the theory of language policy when he used the axes of society/language and form/function to build a fourfold matrix for studying language policies. Hornberger (1994, revised in 2006) capitulates on earlier works by the above-mentioned and other scholars to propose an integrative framework for understanding language policy and planning goals (see Hornberger, 2006: 27-35 for the updated framework). Other models such as Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) model of forces at work in a linguistic ecosystem, Fishman's (1991, revised 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and Spolsky's (2004) model of "management, beliefs, practice" emphasize the relationships between ideology, ecology and agency in language planning and policy. These three models have all been applied in studies on language shift and maintenance, the area of research that my research project was concerned with. In this dissertation, I am mainly interested in the role of

language policy in language maintenance and language shift, which I will now turn to discuss.

The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with “the change or stability in habitual language use” (Fishman, 1964: 32) and its relationship with the “psychological, social and cultural process” in societies (Fishman, 1964: 32). Most research on language shift and maintenance has been conducted from a macro perspective with much work focusing on investigating the support or repression of minority languages spoken by immigrants or the minority groups in a society (e.g. Li, Saravanan, & Ng, 1997; Fishman, 2001; García, 2003; György-Ullholm, 2010).

In this line of research, the focus is often on how the complex relationship between different environmental factors such as language status and language attitude, socioeconomic value, institutional support and the minority languages influence the processes and outcomes of language maintenance and shift (e.g. Gal, 1979; Fishman, 1991; Li, 1994; Canagarajah, 2008). In particular, the role of macro language and education policies has been frequently shown to be pivotal to the degree of success of language maintenance efforts in the host societies (cf. Fishman, 1991; Baker & Jones, 1998). For example, Bourhis (2001) discussed how sustained language planning and the adoption of language laws were instrumental in the successful reversal of French language in Quebec. In contrast, Kamwagamalu (2003) claims that the failure in South Africa’s multilingual policy to promote the use of the official African languages in domains of higher status, such as in government institution settings, is one of the key factors leading to a shift away from the African languages towards English in urban South Africa. Meanwhile, countries in the European Union are working actively to maintain linguistic diversity in Europe and vitality in the national languages through the formulation of key language policies and language-in-education policies (Phillipson, 2008).

Notwithstanding the influence of top-down approaches on the outcome of language policies, Schiffman (1996) advocates looking at language policies by examining overt explicit policy while taking into account the covert aspects of its “linguistics culture” (Schiffman, 1996; 2006: 112) at the grass-root level. Schiffman (1996, 2006) asserts that linguistics culture could be just as influential as top-down policies in deciding the outcome of language policies. This implies that language attitudes, beliefs and

ideologies of the speakers should not be neglected or seen as “impediments that must be overcome” (Schiffman, 2006: 112) in the formulation and implementation of language policies. This strand of research which links macro and micro analysis has been particularly useful in the study of language shifts and maintenance (e.g. Schiffman, 1987, in his discussion of the shift from German to English in the United States). In assessing the relationship between language policy and language shift, Fishman (2006) also highlights that planned and unplanned shifts can result from both stated language policies or a “no-policy policy”, where forces will work in favour of the “stronger party” (Fishman, 2006: 318).

Spolsky (2004) proposes a model for the studies of language policy. He theorizes language policy as a tripartite and interactive relationship between language management (see Spolsky, 2004: 8, where he explains his choice for this term instead of “language planning”), language beliefs and ideologies, and language practices. Language management refers to interventions to manipulate a language situation (Spolsky, 2004: 8); thus, when a set of parents implements a family language policy, one can regard the parents as language managers who are trying to control a language situation. Language ideologies and beliefs refer to “a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices” (Spolsky, 2004: 14). In this perspective, the three approaches to researching language policy are viewed as complementing each other. Taking both Schiffman’s (1996) and Spolsky’s (2004) theories as a point of departure, my research is especially interested in the relationship between language management and language belief and ideology in the family domain. I have chosen the family domain as my site of investigation in order to understand how speakers’ beliefs influence their language management decisions and how such a bottom-up approach may contribute to the process of language shift and maintenance. This interest in the family domain has largely been informed by Fishman’s (1991; 2001) work, which points out the importance of the family unit as a critical domain for reversing language shift and promoting language maintenance work. I shall now proceed to review his work in Section 3.2.

3.2 Studies of language shift and maintenance in the family domain

There have been many studies looking at the family domain in language shift and language maintenance research. Drawing from empirical evidence, Fishman (1991, revised in 2001) constructed a model - Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS, See Figure 1) - for describing the vitality of a language and the likelihood of its maintenance.

Figure 1 : Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stages of Reversing Language Shift (RLS): Severity of Intergenerational Dislocation

(read from the bottom up)

1.	Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
2.	Local/regional mass media and governmental services.
3.	The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.
4b.	Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
4a.	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
<i>II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment</i>	
5.	Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6.	The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission.
7.	Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8.	Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL.
<i>I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)</i>	

Source: Fishman (2001:466)

In this 8-stage model, Fishman (1991: 87; 2001: 466-469) highlights the importance of Stage 6 - intergenerational language transmission in “home-family-neighbourhood-community” (Fishman, 2001:466,469) - as a critical measure of the success or failure in languages maintenance efforts. In support of Fishman’s claim that it is dangerous to be over-reliant on education as the main vehicle for reversing language shift (Fishman,

1991; 2001), Pauwels (2005) argues that even though macro policies in education and institutional settings may provide support and influence outcomes of language transmission efforts, it is ultimately the family which has to initiate language transmission in order for successful language maintenance. Hence, the study of language policy in the family domain often relies on Fishman's (1991, revised in 2001) GIDS model as the theoretical support.

Building on Fishman's model, Spolsky (2004: 45) argues that the study of language policies in the family domain is crucial for understanding how external factors can affect decisions regarding language transmission inside the family. Drawing from this literature, my study seeks to uncover factors, in particular language ideologies, which have influenced the families' decision to implement family language policies which maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages with their children.

3.2.1 Study of family language policy as a window to parental language ideologies

The study of family language policy has been termed as "a newly emerging field" from the larger context of the studies of language policy (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008: 907). King and Logan-Terry (2008) claim that research in language policy has concentrated largely on more macro and institutional domains and neglected the domain of family. They have suggested further that family language policies from the ideology perspective are important areas of studies for understanding child language acquisition.

One of the earliest and most extensively researched dimensions of family language policy focuses on families who employed the "One-Person-One-Language" (OPOL) method in hope of attaining their bilingual child-rearing goal (e.g. Döpke, 1992; Juan-Garau, 2001). These research studies are usually approached in two complementary perspectives which look at the processes and patterns involved in childhood bilingualism acquisition, i.e. language input patterns and parental discourse strategies (e.g. Juan-Garau, 2001). However, these research studies tend to be based largely on longitudinal research efforts of highly educated parents, in many cases linguists themselves (György-Ullholm, 2010: 1). Critics have pointed out the insufficiency of the OPOL model (e.g. Döpke, 1992; Romaine, 1995) and have demonstrated that the OPOL

model, which tends to advocate consistency and strict limits in its implementation, is not representative of language practices in bilingual or multilingual families in traditionally multilingual non-European societies (e.g. Kulick, 1993), or in situations where both parents use both languages (e.g. Zentella, 1997). It will be illustrated in Chapter 5 that in the case of Singapore, where both parents tend to speak to the children in both English and Mandarin, albeit at different proportions of time, the informants' family language policies are not easily classified into neat typologies like the OPOL model. Moreover, this research tradition does not address the parents' role and perspective in childhood bilingual acquisition.

In view of the limitations in this research tradition, King et al. (2008) proposed a framework for examining family language policy by integrating research perspectives from the studies of language policy (c.f. Spolsky, 2004) and child language acquisition (Berko-Gleason, 2005, cited in King et al., 2008). They define "family language policy" as the "overt" (Schiffman, 1996) and "explicit" (Shohamy, 2006) decisions which are undertaken for the allocation of languages for communication in the family domain (King & Logan-Terry, 2008: 907). King et al. (2008: 908) point out that the study of language policy in the family domain has been given little attention, as much work has been focused on language policy in macro contexts such as institutional settings like the state, the school or work place. On the other hand, studies of child language acquisition tend to focus more on micro-context such as child-caretaker interactions and rarely focus on the social factors that influence bilingualism (King et al., 2008: 908). However, King et al. (2008: 909-912) argue that studies on family language policy from the ideology perspective will provide an important window into understanding parental language ideologies, which are reflections of both language and parenting ideologies. Integrating broader issues such as parental language ideology and child-rearing goals will in turn complement the micro-studies of child-caretaker interactions and allow researchers to achieve better understanding of the varied outcomes of child language acquisition in bilingual families (King et al., 2008: 909-916). In addition, they highlight that research does suggest that a lack of language planning in the home setting may lead to language shift (King et al., 2008: 916). Therefore, they claim that there is a need to understand how parental language ideologies are formed in the first place and their role in shaping a family language policy, which could in turn be one of the crucial factors for language maintenance (King et al., 2008: 917; c.f. Fishman, 1991, 2001).

3.2.2 Previous studies on family language policies

In line with King et al.'s (2008) call for more attention on family language policies, recent studies have used family language policy as a point of departure to study how parental language ideologies influence decisions on the transmission or non-transmission of a language to the next generation. Schüpbach (2009) examined factors which influenced family language practices and the outcomes of intergenerational language transmission in fourteen Swiss-German speaking families in Australia. She found that the parents' language attitudes and beliefs, which could be informed by various factors such as personal bilingual learning experience, pragmatic and utilitarian views about Swiss-German or ideas about language learning etc., contributed heavily to the different decisions, strategies and outcomes on language transmission in the families.

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) studied ten immigrant Chinese families in Quebec, focusing on parental language ideologies, which Curdt-Christiansen regarded as the visible and "invisible language planning" (Pakir, 1994) factors underlying their family language policies. Through analysis of her interviews with the parents, she demonstrates that their strong cultural belief -the Chinese language as an identity marker and a link to the Chinese culture - is one of the main motivations for their bilingual family language policy. Thus it is important for them to transmit their language to their children, and for their children to acquire and maintain the language. These research studies have made further contributions to our understanding of the shift or maintenance of a language within the family and a community.

Following this line of research, I have also taken family language policy as a point of departure for my research project. By investigating the parental language ideologies influencing the decision to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages amidst a societal shift towards English as the predominant home language, I hope to contribute to the study of family language policy and broaden understanding of its role in language shift and language maintenance from a Singapore context.

3.3 Previous studies on language shift and language policy in Singapore

This section turns the attention onto previous research on language shift and maintenance in relation to language policy in the Singapore context in order to provide an understanding of how the phenomenon of language shift has been studied in Singapore and to highlight the gap in current research.

Language shift in the three major ethnic groups in Singapore has been studied from various perspectives. Schiffman (2003) took a critical view in his discussion on the language policy in Singapore. He compared the language shift from Tamil to English and language maintenance efforts of the Tamil community in Singapore to other Tamil-speaking regions, and argued that the government's egalitarian approach towards the three "Mother Tongue" languages and the nation's housing policies failed to consider theoretical needs for language maintenance in the minority Tamil speaking community who accounts for only 3-4% of the population, thereby resulting in rapid language shift in the community. In contrast, Vaish (2007) found that findings from a large-scale sociolinguistics survey conducted in 2006 on primary school pupils suggested even though language shift is taking place in the Tamil community, language maintenance is also present in the language practices of the young Tamil speakers. Aman (2009) built on previous studies (e.g. Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Li, Saravanan, & Ng, 1997; Saravanan, 1999) of the language practices in the different ethnic communities in Singapore and studied the phenomenon of language shift in the Malay community. Her findings suggested that despite showing language shift towards English, young Malay speakers identify with the Malay language which bodes well for language maintenance in the community.

Li et al. (1997) took a different approach and studied the majority ethnic group, i.e. the Chinese community, in Singapore instead. Their studies complement the literature on language shift and language maintenance which tends to focus on the minority communities by studying language shift in a majority group instead. The research provides an in-depth discussion on the two-fold language shift across the majority Chinese population through a case study of home language usage in the Teochew Chinese community, which forms the second-largest sub-group of the Chinese

population in Singapore. Data from the 17 families studied points to an emergent language shift from Teochew to Mandarin, and from Mandarin to English as the age of the interlocutors decrease.

While these studies provide an overall understanding of the different factors underlying the phenomenon of language shift in Singapore, there has been a lack of studies on the parental language ideologies driving family language policies. Therefore, my research project seeks to contribute to the understanding of the ideologies motivating Singaporean parents who are maintaining Mandarin in the home setting. I shall turn to the methodology in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The methodology applied in my research project reported in this dissertation had been developed from an exploratory pilot study conducted in April 2011 (Lea, 2011). I will first report results from the pilot study before explaining the methodology in the current study.

4.1 Findings from the pilot study

Prior to the research project reported in this dissertation, I have conducted a pilot study on a young Singaporean Chinese family with an eighteen-month-old child in April 2011 (Lea, 2011). The couple, Lionel and Cherry⁴, who are in their early thirties, are both working professionals with university degrees. They are bilingual in English and Mandarin and view bilingualism as a resource which they can pass on to their child. The couple had initially used only English as the home language and had hoped that the extended family will help the child to acquire Mandarin. However, when they realized that the child was sounding “*very English*” (Appendix C⁵ Transcript 1, 10:01-10:21) in her initial speech output in Mandarin, they “*realized that, something may not be too right*” (Transcript 1, 10:01-10:21) and decided to add Mandarin as one of the home languages.

One of the major factors resulting in the change in family language policy was their observation of the language shift towards English-dominancy in Singapore’s society, where many children seem to lack proficiency in speaking Mandarin. Using her nephew and nieces as examples, Cherry shared her observation that the younger children in her extended family are all fluent in English but sound “*weird*” and “*unconfident*” (see Transcript 1, 17:10-19:07), and have the “*English kind of Chinese*” (see Transcript 1, 17:10-19:07) when speaking in Mandarin. Cherry attributed the lack of fluency in using Mandarin in her nephew and nieces to the fact that their parents spoke only English to them since birth (Transcript 1, 33:17– 34:45). Hence, Cherry and Lionel decided that in order for their child to become a bilingual who can speak both languages fluently like

⁴ All names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

⁵ All transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix C. I will only refer to the transcript number from this point onwards. Transcript conventions can also be found in Appendix C.

themselves, and access the resources brought by both languages, maintaining two languages in the home setting will be the best way forward (e.g. Transcript 1, 28:55-29:41, 36:49-37:50).

Although the couple does not think that the purpose of their family language policy is for their daughter to be proficient in all domains of usages in both English and Mandarin, they also do not wish for their daughter to grow up acquiring only limited repertoire and communicative ability in Mandarin, as observed in other children. Therefore, it can be concluded that the ideology motivating the couple's language management (Spolsky, 2004) is their hope for their child to achieve "dynamic bilingualism" (Garcia, 2009a: 53), where the child, as a "productive bilingual" (Garcia, 2009:61), can use both English and Mandarin at varying degrees for the purposes of communication. "Dynamic bilingualism" is a heteroglossic language ideology put forward by Garcia (2009a), in view of the limitations of the traditional notions of "subtractive" and "additive" bilingualism, which are deemed insufficient in representing the complexity of bilingualism as a phenomenon in the twenty-first century in the Western context and the historically multi-lingual landscapes in Asia and Africa (Garcia, 2009a). The term "additive bilingualism" refers to the acquisition of a second language as being added onto the first one, and without any expense of the first language (Garcia, 2009a: 52), whereas "subtractive bilingualism" refers to the situation where the learning of a second language will eventually cause the displacement of the first language (Ng & Wigglesworth, 2007:16; Garcia, 2009a: 51). Instead of viewing bilingualism in a linear scale, the word "dynamic" suggests a view which recognizes that an individual's language competency "draws from different contexts in which it develops and functions" (Garcia, 2009a: 53) and one's ability in different languages should be viewed as the total of one's language repertoire. The use of this concept contrasts against terminology such as "additive bilingualism" and "subtractive bilingualism" which use monolingualism as the starting point for understanding bilingualism. In contrast, "dynamic bilingualism" refers to the complex bilingual competence needed by an individual where "language use is multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual, multimodal terrain of the communicative act" (Garcia, 2009b: 378). In this sense, bilingualism is viewed as a resource and a kind of language practice "tapping on all points on the continua that make up a bilingual repertoire" (Garcia, 2009b: 378).

In this pilot study, even though Cherry and Lionel have expressed their concerns about the proficiency of their daughter through a view which seem to concur with the concept of “additive bilingualism” when Cherry cited her nephew’s example (Transcript 1, 17:10-19:07), the couple have also expressed that their strongest wish is for their daughter to be communicative in both languages (Transcript 1, 23:50-24:48) and to enjoy the resources brought along by the acquisition of a language (Transcript 1, 28:55-29:41). Moreover, the multilingual sociolinguistic environment in Singapore has made bilingualism, albeit to varying degrees, more of a norm than an exception. Hence, it would be inappropriate to adopt terminology which takes monolingualism as the starting point in this research. Therefore, it is plausible and valid to conclude that Cherry and Lionel’s child-rearing goal is to help their daughter to achieve dynamic bilingualism.

4.2 Research question

Taking the findings from the pilot study as a point of departure, I seek to answer the following research question in this dissertation: Are parents who are maintaining Mandarin as the home language with their children motivated by the aim of achieving dynamic bilingualism for their children, and if so, why? By replicating my research on four new informant families, I hope to establish that families who are still maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages have a common child-rearing goal. More importantly, I hope to uncover common language ideologies underlying their family language policies. It is hope that these findings can be useful information for understanding the phenomenon of language shift and language maintenance in Singapore.

4.3 Methods of Data collection and analysis

A multiple-case study method has been employed for the purpose of this research. Swanborn (2010: 2-5) defines case study as an intensive approach in research methodology that is useful for “in depth” understanding of a social phenomenon “in the

case's natural context" (Swanborn, 2010: 13). In this research project, four families form the basis of my multiple-case study (Swanborn, 2010: 15), which seeks to provide an understanding and explanation of the social phenomenon in study – the maintenance of Mandarin as one of the home languages. As the purpose of the dissertation has been built on the findings from the pilot study and seek to uncover the aims of the family language policies and the underlying parental language ideologies, I continued to use interviews as the means of data collection.

I conducted semi-structured interviews (Appendix B) with the four couples who participated in this research. These informants have been invited to participate in this research through my personal network. When I first started looking for participants for my research, the main criterion stated in my invitation email was “parents who are speaking Mandarin to their children at home”. I have also taken care to ask for interested participants who “are not linguistically trained” and are not working as teachers in Singapore schools, so that I would be able to conduct my study on participants who are more likely to provide views from a “grass-root” perspective (c.f. Schiffman, 1996; 2006: 112) . Eventually, I managed to find four couples who fit the criterion. In this research, only Couple 1 is my personal contact while Couple 2, 3 and 4 are friends of my friends. The participants have been briefed on the purpose of the interview (without knowing the specific research question) and have given me informed consent to interview them and to use the data for research purposes (Appendix A).

I interviewed each couple through the internet using Skype and MSN. Each interview lasted about an hour. A video file and an audio file were recorded for every interview. After completing all the interviews, I transcribed each interview based on both the video and audio files using conversational analysis transcription conventions (see Appendix C for the transcription conventions). The profile of the participants will be presented in Section 4.4

Ethnographic content analysis (ECA), which allows for a reflexive data analysis and interpretation process (Altheide, 2008: 212) had been used to analyze and interpret the data. The themes used to organize the discussion in Chapter 5 had emerged from this “reflexive research design” (Altheide, 2008: 212). Instead of using pre-determined categories to analyze my data, I had leverage on the advantages of ECA which allows

for “constant discovery” (Altheide, 2008: 213) and “constant comparison” (Altheide, 2008: 213) in the informants’ discourse. After transcribing my data, I conducted a preliminary analysis on each transcript and analyzed each interview as an individual case. Themes that have emerged from the interview were recorded. This process was repeated on each of the four interviews. Thereafter, I proceeded on to a second round of analysis. I compared the four sets of analysis for common themes which have emerged from the separate interviews. After organizing my data according to the emergent common themes, I continued to check for themes which are not common across the four couples but are nevertheless important sources of information for answering my research question. This continuous process of exploration and comparison has allowed me to delineate specific themes which I will be presenting in Chapter 5 for my discussion.

4.4 Profile of the four families

I have interviewed four couples in this research project. All eight informants in this research are white-collar professionals and university graduates. Table 1 shows the profile of these four families. I have included in the table, the languages which the parents have spoken as a child and their current language practices.

Table 1 shows that all of them are bilingual in English and Mandarin. With the exception of Janet, the other seven informants spoke Chinese dialectal languages as one of their home languages when they were children. All of them, except Harold, have acquired English through schooling. This means that only Harold spoke English as a home language with his parents. The two younger couples, Couple 1 and Couple 2, have gone through a bilingual education implemented under the “1979 New Education System” described in Chapter 2. The older couples, Couple 3 and Couple 4, went through the earlier bilingual education system, where there were different language schooling streams.

Table 1: Profile of the informants

Couple		Language spoken as a child*	Current self-reported language practices	Child
1	Husband Warren, 32	Cantonese <i>English</i> <i>Mandarin</i>	Work: Mainly English and a little Mandarin Social : Mandarin, English	Corrine, 5 months
	Wife Sharon, 30	Mandarin Hainanese <i>English</i>	Work: Mainly English and some Mandarin Social: Mandarin, English	
2	Husband Harold, 30	English Mandarin Hainanese	Work: English and Mandarin Social: English, Mandarin	Geraldine, 21 months
	Wife Janet, 29	Mandarin <i>English</i>	Work: English and Mandarin Social: Mandarin, English	
3	Husband Thomas, 44	Teochew <i>Mandarin</i> <i>English</i>	Work: Mainly English and a little Mandarin Social: Mainly Mandarin	Dawn, 11 years old;
	Wife Kelly, 42	Hainanese <i>English</i> <i>Mandarin</i>	Work: Mainly English and some Mandarin or Singlish in informal work situations. Social: Mainly Mandarin	Joan, 5 years old
4	Husband Samuel, 42	Mandarin Hokkien <i>English**</i>	Work: English and Mandarin, depending on interlocutor Social: English and Mandarin, depending on interlocutor	Jackson, 14 years old
	Wife Yvonne, 42	Cantonese <i>English</i> <i>Mandarin</i>	Work: English and Mandarin, depending on interlocutor Social: English and Mandarin, depending on interlocutor	

* Languages which have been reported as first acquired in school are shown in italics.

** Samuel attended Chinese-medium schools while Thomas, Kelly and Yvonne attended English-medium schools.

Most of them reported using mainly English and a little Mandarin in work settings. Harold and Janet have reported that they speak Mandarin as one of their work language too because they have many business contacts with clients from China (see Transcript 3, 03:22-03:41 & 04:16-04:30). As evidenced by Table 1, all the informants have reported

themselves to be active users of both English and Mandarin in their current daily lives. The language profile of these informants will provide a basis for understanding their discourse which I will turn to discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Discussion

In this chapter, I will present the findings from my research and answer my research question: Are parents who are maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages with their children motivated by the aim of achieving dynamic bilingualism for their children, and if so, why?

Spolsky (2004) sees language ideology as “what people think should be done” (Spolsky, 2004: 14) and argues that it “can be a basis for language management” (Spolsky, 2004: 14). In the same vein, the informants in this research project have shed light on their parental language ideologies as they shared at length the motivations behind their family language policies. Through analysing the data, I will unveil and discuss the language ideologies the informants hold as parents and seek to answer my research question.

In Section 5.1, I will first describe their family language policies and the primary motivations which they have stated as the trigger to the instatement of their respective family language policies. Thereafter, I will discuss their self-reported child-rearing goals and seek to determine if these parents are trying to achieve “dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, 2009a) as their child-rearing goal. In Section 5.2, I will discuss the ideologies influencing their decisions using common themes that have emerged through ethnographical content analysis of the interview transcripts. Finally, I will synthesise my findings and answer my research question.

5.1 Dynamic bilingualism as a child-rearing goal

In this section, I will demonstrate that even though the four families investigated in this research have adopted different family language policies to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages, all four couples have a common child-rearing goal – to help their children achieve “dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, 2009a).

5.1.1 Family language policies in the four families

The four couples who have participated in this research project have reported four different kinds of family language policies in their home settings. Table 2 shows the different self-reported family language policies. All four couples are maintaining Mandarin in the home setting by adopting different kinds of bilingual policies. Couple 1 have adopted a bilingual policy in Mandarin and Cantonese. Couple 2 employs a modified “One Parent One Language” (see Döpke, 1992 for further discussion) policy where the father speaks predominantly in English and the mother speaks predominantly in Mandarin, while the daytime caregiver adopts a mixed-language policy. Couple 3 speaks to their children in Singlish, English and Mandarin, and has recently implemented a “Speak Mandarin Day” policy. Couple 4 have decided to speak to their son predominantly in Mandarin in the home setting. With the exception of Couple 3, all the couples have discussed their family language policies before the birth of their child.

Table 2: Self-reported family language policies in the four informant-families

Couple		Child	Current self-reported family language policy
1	Husband Warren, 32	Corrine, 5 months	The couple speaks to the child predominantly in Mandarin. Daytime caregiver (the grandfather) speaks in Cantonese to Corrine.
	Wife Sharon, 30		
2	Husband Harold, 30	Geraldine, 21 months	Harold speaks predominantly in English to Geraldine. Janet speaks predominantly in Mandarin to Geraldine. Daytime caregiver (the grandmother) speaks in English, Mandarin and a little Hainanese to child.
	Wife Janet, 29		
3	Husband Thomas, 44	Dawn, 11 years old, Joan, 5 years old	20% English, 20% Mandarin, 60% Singlish. Currently, they are trying to speak to the children only in Mandarin on Sundays and Tuesdays
	Wife Kelly, 42		
4	Husband Samuel, 42	Jackson, 14 years old	Have initially planned to speak to Jackson predominantly in Mandarin. Jackson’s caretaker when young was his grandmother who spoke only in Mandarin to him. Currently, making efforts to speak maintain Mandarin as the predominant home language.
	Wife Yvonne, 42		

I will now turn to describe their family language policies and the primary motivations which they have stated as the trigger to the instatement of their respective family language policies in detail.

Couple 1, Warren and Sharon, have decided on a bilingual policy where they speak to their child, Corrine, predominantly in Mandarin while Warren's father, who takes care of the child during the day, speaks to her in Cantonese (Transcript 2, 08:00-08:43). They have also decided to expose her to only "some basic English" at this moment and leave the acquisition of English mainly to schools (See Extract 1). They attributed this decision to their observation of the society being dominant in English and their belief that Corrine will have no problem learning English once she starts pre-school.

Extract 1

Sharon: Yah, **we will speak to her predominantly in Mandarin⁶. But she should also learn her dialect, which is Cantonese.** Then for English...we will try to teach her some basic English, but it should be done when she goes to pre-school.

(Transcript 2, 06:11- 06:34)

Yah, left mainly to schools. Because we think that the mainstream environment in Singapore is predominantly English and she won't have any problem getting schooled in English.

(Transcript 2, 07:11-07:22)

Couple 2 adopts a modified "One Parent One Language" (Döpke , 1992) policy in the home setting, where Harold speaks predominantly in English to the child and Janet speaks predominantly in Mandarin to the child, Geraldine (See Extract 2). Harold's mother, who is Geraldine's main caregiver in the daytime during weekdays, speaks English, Mandarin (See Transcript 3, 06:08-06:27), and a little Hainanese to the child (Transcript 3, 15:25-15:47).

⁶ Extracts in this dissertation have been left unedited for grammatical errors. I have also highlighted certain words in bold for emphasis.

Extract 2

Harold: Then for my girl, I speak more English because we took a conscious decision that I speak English, while Janet speaks Chinese⁷ with her. So that she is exposed to the two different languages.

(Transcript 3, 03:42-04:08)

Harold and Janet think that their family language policy is quite “natural” (Transcript 3, 08:11-08:30), “because Singapore is a multi-cultural and multi-language, and we use both languages on a daily basis” (Transcript 3, 08:11-08:30).

Couple 3 speaks to their children in Singlish, English and Mandarin, and has recently implemented a “Speak Mandarin Day” policy. They have reported that they did not adopt an explicit family language policy until recently. Thomas described their family language practices as “20% good English, 60% Singlish, that means it’s really a jumbo of Mandarin and English right, and 20% Mandarin” (Transcript 4, 07:54-08:16). As shown in Extract 3, because their children respond more to English, Kelly feels that they are making a “conscious effort” to speak in Mandarin to the children.

Extract 3

Kelly: ...they will pick up this habit of speaking English as well. So **when you speak to them in Mandarin, and there’s no response ...Then Chinese becomes a very conscious effort...**

(Transcript 4, 17:08-17:37)

⁷ It can be seen from the transcripts in this dissertation that informants use both “Mandarin” and “Chinese” interchangeably to refer to Mandarin as a language. This could be due to official discourse in Singapore which refers to the other Chinese languages, such as Hokkien, Teochew, Hainanese etc., as “dialects” (e.g. Speak Mandarin Campaign website, History and Background) and the term “Chinese” being used as the official term for the language as a subject in schools (Ministry of Education, Mother Tongue Language Policy). However, the term “Mandarin” is used for “Speak Mandarin Campaign” (refer to Speak Mandarin Campaign website, History and Background). In this discussion, I will be using the term “Mandarin” to refer to the variety of Chinese language in concern. When I use the term “Chinese” instead, it is to include the concept of literacy in the language.

However, after the elder child failed her recent Chinese test in school, they have decided to implement a “Speak Mandarin Day” policy to speak only in Mandarin on Sundays and Tuesdays (Transcript 4, 13:05-13:54).

Couple 4 are speaking to their 14-year-old son in both English and Mandarin but they have reported making efforts to maintain Mandarin as the predominant home language. Extract 4 shows that they have initially planned to speak to Jackson predominantly in Mandarin in the home setting.

Extract 4

Samuel: We actually wanted to speak more to him in Mandarin, thinking that because of the environment in Singapore, uhm, he will have more chance of speaking English in the future. So we wanted to start off with Chinese at home... But turn out that I think I speak more to him in Chinese and she speaks more to him in English. *So, there was some kind of division of labour between us*⁸.

(Transcript 5, 06:49-07:21)

Yvonne: *...Then when he (Jackson) comes home, we will usually speak to him in Mandarin, and sometimes we mix a little English in it. Usually, it is still mainly in Mandarin in the home setting.*

(Transcript 5, 08:25-08:51)

This stems from their belief that Jackson will have more chances to speak English as he grows up. However, in their current self-reported practices, Samuel speaks predominantly in Mandarin⁹ and Yvonne speaks in both Mandarin and English to

⁸ In the extracts in this dissertation, words in unbold italics were originally in Mandarin. I have translated them based on the Mandarin transcript. Transcript conventions can be found in Appendix C.

⁹ As explained in the beginning of this chapter, this does not mean that Samuel does not speak any English to Jackson.

Jackson¹⁰. Jackson had also spent most of his pre-schooling days under the care of his grandmother who spoke mainly Mandarin to him (see Transcript 5, 07:36-08:08).

It is evident that the different family language policies adopted by the informants have been instated due to different reasons. What are their child-rearing goals then? A further discussion is required to answer the first part of my research question: Are families maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages motivated by the aim of achieving dynamic bilingualism for their children? I will now turn to discuss if their self-reported child-rearing goals actually point to a common pursuit for “dynamic bilingualism” (Garcia, 2009a) in their children.

5.1.2 “We hope that she will be able to have meaningful conversations with others in both English and Chinese” - Dynamic bilingualism as the pursuit.

As illustrated in the previous section, all the four couples are adopting different family language policies to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages. In this section, I will demonstrate that in adopting different policies, all the four couples are being motivated by a common child-rearing goal – to achieve dynamic bilingualism in their children.

Even though three of the four couples have discussed their family language policies when their children were born, not every couple share a consistent view on what they hope their child can achieve in terms of language competency. For instance, Warren and Sharon from Couple 1 have very different ideas about what it means to be a bilingual. Warren hopes that their daughter, Corrine, “will be able to converse in grammatically correct English and Chinese” (Transcript 2, 26:21-27:16). It seems like Warren is hoping that Corrine will be able to achieve high proficiency in both languages but he was quick to quantify it further. “Her conversation need not be laden with very, with a lot of words, but it must be clear and I hope that it will be coherently

¹⁰ Yvonne also clarified that she actually speaks to Jackson mainly in Mandarin now but because she was schooled in English, she tends to slip back into English unconsciously. “Because I was educated in English-medium schools, so sometimes I will unconsciously speak to him in English” (Transcript 5, 07:36-08:08).

in one language, without resorting to switching to another language too often” (Transcript 2, 26:21-27:16). Although Warren clarified that he does not need his daughter to achieve high proficiency in both languages, it is evident that Warren has strong ideology that to be bilingual means to be a “balanced bilingual” (Lambert, Havelka, & Gardner, 1959), a concept first introduced by Lambert et al. which refers to a situation where one is “fully competent in both languages” (Ng & Wigglesworth, 2007: 6).

While Warren seems to view code-switching as a sign of weakness in one’s language proficiency¹¹ and believe that for Corrine to be bilingual, it means that she should be able to “speak coherently in one language” (Transcript 2, 26:21-27:16), Sharon feels otherwise. She feels that code-switching is simply “how Singaporean speaks” (Transcript 2, 12:13-12:15) and “even if she is mixing all the languages up, as long as she can communicate and express herself well, that’s good enough” (Transcript 2, 34:14-34:31). In trying to reconcile the difference in their opinions, Sharon summed up the aim of their family language policy as a pursuit for a form of bilingualism, where the ability to communicate with others in different languages is the point of being bilingual - “We hope that she will be able have meaningful conversations with others in both English and Chinese. That will be good enough” (Transcript 2, 44:39-44:51) - a view which Warren agreed with. This view concurs with Garcia’s (2009a) definition of dynamic bilingualism, where bilingualism is viewed as a resource and a kind of language practice “tapping on all points on the continua that make up a bilingual repertoire” (Garcia, 2009b: 378).

The other three couples have more common views between themselves on what it means to be bilingual and what they hope to achieve as their child-rearing goals. Janet and Harold from Couple 2 share similar views and “hope that she will be able to, I won’t say master the two languages but I think there should be at least an adequate level for her to communicate properly, not just socially but also at work or at school next time” (Transcript 3, Janet, 29:20-29:44). Again, here it is evident that Couple 2 views bilingualism as a resource for communication in different domains of one’s life, concurring with Garcia’s argument for using the notion of “dynamic bilingualism”

¹¹ I will discuss further the view of code-switching as a sign of weakness in language proficiency in Section 5.2.1.

where “language use is multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual, multimodal terrain of the communicative act” (Garcia, 2009b: 378) to understand the language competency and repertoire of bilinguals.

Couple 4 holds similar view as Couple 2, that bilingualism is a resource for communication. Interestingly, even though both Samuel and Yvonne from Couple 4 also have strong ideology that code-switching is a sign of their son’s “weak proficiency in Mandarin” (Transcript 5, 15:40-16:07), they have positioned themselves as “easy parents” (Transcript 5, 47:07-47:56) whose only wish for their son, Jackson, is for him to be able to “speak simple and fluent language” (Transcript 5, 46:33-47:05). Yvonne feels that while her son is a competent English speaker (Transcript 5, 14:24-14:39), he should also be able to “*speak in a complete sentence (in Mandarin), so that (he) can hold a conversation (in Mandarin) with others, and others will be able to understand what he has said*” (Transcript 5, 47:07-47:56).

Couple 3 expressed their bilingual child-rearing goal in terms of the concept of literacy. This is probably due to the fact that their two daughters have started schooling. As discussed in Section 5.1.1, they have reported their daughters to be responding more to English. Therefore, the aim of their family language policy is expressed in terms of their children’s proficiency in Mandarin and literacy in Chinese language, as shown in Extract 5.

Extract 5

Kelly: I think my only wish is that they can converse in Mandarin, can read, not so difficult, but can read Mandarin...

Thomas: *I don’t need her to be a “bilingual elite”.*

(Transcript 4, 42:07-42:38)

Kelly: It is not really that kind of bilingualism that I am looking for. It is more of like, you know when *they grow up, should there be an article in front of them, they will be able to read it, they will be able to analyse it. When people speak in Mandarin on the stage, they will be able to understand what has been said. And they will be able to express their thoughts in Mandarin.*

(Transcript 4, 42:39-43:10)

Thomas: I think my *aspiration* for her is that *at least she is able to read newspapers, able to read Chinese newspapers.*

(Transcript 4, 22:20-22:36)

Couple 3 has expressed their child-rearing goal by contrasting it with the concept of a “bilingual elite”. The concept of a “*bilingual elite*” (双语精英) has been well-articulated in official discourses in Singapore, especially in the Chinese context. The need for the education system to produce “bilingual elites” has been widely discussed in parliamentary speeches (e.g. MOE, 2004a: Para 3; MOE, 2010b: Para 24) and media discourse (e.g. ST, 23 June 2005: 2; Lianhe Zaobao 联合早报, 11 July 2011). In these discourses, a “bilingual elite” is defined as one who has high oracy and literacy proficiency in both English and his mother tongue language, and several programmes have been introduced in the education system to support the country’s goal of producing some “bilingual and bicultural elites” from every batch of students (MOE, 2004b: Bicultural Studies Programme, Para 1). It is not the purpose of this dissertation to discuss these programmes in the education system. Dixon (2005b) and Chua (2010) provide further discussion on the bilingual education system and the concept of “bilingual, bi-literate and bicultural elites”. However, it is important to understand how the couple has constructed their own child-rearing goal in terms of notions peculiar to the Singapore context. If one is to view the concept of bilingualism in terms of a continuum of language proficiency, then Couple 3 has made use of the notion of a “bilingual elite” to represent the highest point in this continuum and to contrast it to their “lowered expectations” (Transcript 4, 29:55-30:14) of their children’s proficiency in Mandarin. It is their wish for their children to be conversant and literate in two languages, not so that they will be “experts” (Transcript 4, 42:07-42:32) in both languages, but more for the hope that their children will have more resources for communication with and understanding others.

It is evident from the above analysis that the four couples in this research projects are seeking to achieve dynamic bilingualism as their common child-rearing goal by maintaining Mandarin as one of their home languages. Nonetheless, it is also important

to find out why they have set out on the pursuit of dynamic bilingualism in their children. In the next section, I will further my discussion by illustrating the motivations driving their family language policies and unravel the language ideologies underlying their decisions.

5.2 Factors motivating the family language policies.

A myriad of factors have been cited as motivations for the families to adopt different family language policies to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages. The common factors cited among the four families include the child's proficiency in Mandarin, communication needs in the family, observations of the society being dominant in English, notion of Mandarin as a cultural and identity marker, and perception of the schooling system in supporting their child-rearing goals. It is especially noteworthy that Couple 1 and Couple 4, who try to maintain Mandarin as the predominant home language, are also the two couples which have the strongest comments about the education system in Singapore. The informants' discourses reveal the language ideologies they hold as parents. I will discuss each of these in the sections below.

5.2.1 “Her Chinese is not very good”- Language standard as a concern

With the exception of Couple 1, whose child has not started speaking, the other three couples all cited their children's proficiency in Mandarin as a reason for their effort to speak Mandarin with the children.

Janet (Couple 2) spoke of her “conscious effort” to maintain their family language policy when they realised that Geraldine was replying only in English and “sounded funny” when she started talking in Mandarin (Transcript 3, 09:08-09:30).

For Couple 3 and Couple 4 whose children have started schooling, the children's school grades in Chinese as a subject and their ability to express themselves fluently in Mandarin were cited as reasons for their current language management effort. For instance, Couple 3 has recently implemented “Speak Mandarin Days” in their family

when their eldest daughter failed her recent Chinese test (Transcript 4, 13:05-13:54). Thomas (Couple 3) commented that both his daughters “*can understand Mandarin when spoken to in the language, but they have difficulties comprehending it effectively*” (Transcript 4, 12:15- 12:30) and shared his observations of his elder daughter who is not able to express herself well in Mandarin in Extract 6.

Extract 6

Thomas: Mainly because we just find that it is **very sad** that she doesn’t speak Mandarin, **her capability to express in Mandarin is very poor**. To think that last time...**I actually speak Mandarin pretty well**...*now that my child is in this situation, it’s very upsetting. Yah, very upsetting. Therefore, there is this* conscious effort.

(Transcript 4, 19:53-21:09)

Similarly, Couple 4 cited school grades as a trigger to their “conscious effort” in managing their son’s speech in Mandarin, so that he will be able to speak “correctly” (See Extract 7).

Extract 7

Yvonne: *So actually it is because of his results, we feel that we cannot allow him to go on like this...initially his standard of Mandarin was quite good ... and (we) thought that he should not have any problem with the language... So now, we are more conscious and demanding of his ability to **express himself correctly**. Because he has no problem with English.*

(Transcript 5, 13:40-14:39)

It seems that these parents are concerned with the idea of being able to speak a language “well” (Extract 6) , “correctly” (Extract 7) and not sounding “funny” (Transcript 3, 09:08-09:30, Janet’s comment). Noticeably, Thomas has used himself as a benchmark

to assess his elder daughter's proficiency in Mandarin (Extract 6). As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, all the eight informants are bilinguals in English and Mandarin and use both languages in their daily lives. Thus, it is possible that when these parents talk about the lack of proficiency in Mandarin in their children, their main concern is their children will not be able to speak both English and Mandarin "well" like themselves.

It is also plausible to suggest that the informants' idea of acquiring a language has been benchmarked against a certain "language standard", a notion which Samuel from Couple 4 and Sharon and Warren from Couple 1 have talked about explicitly. Samuel talked specifically about the inability of Jackson to express some of his thoughts without code-mixing in English and commented on the lack of proficiency in both oral and written skills in Chinese in the younger generation (Transcript 5, 15:40-16:07). Sharon thinks that even though Warren does speak some English to Corrine, they can "leave the job to BBC, because they speak the best English" (Transcript 2, 11:09-11:51). Warren feels that it is best for his father to speak in Cantonese to Corrine, so that she can pick up "quality Cantonese and not the wrong kind of English or Mandarin" (Transcript 2, 10:35-10:40). This seems to suggest that some of these parents share the view that to be bilingual is to be able to master both English and Mandarin (or another language) at high proficiency levels, perhaps at near-native levels. In other words, these parents have a "standard language ideology" (Milroy & Milroy, 1985 revised in 1992), which is an idealized view of what the spoken language should be. The idea of a "standard language" often takes the written language as its model. In this ideology, language mixing and code-switching are often regarded as "indications of less than full linguistic capabilities" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994: 63). However, I will demonstrate in the next three sections that their discourses – their strong hopes for their children to be able to speak "well" and "correctly"- are in fact driven by and reflections of their beliefs that languages are communication tools and a kind of resource.

5.2.2 “It will be very sad if she keeps on speaking English to my parents because they will never understand her at all.”- Language for communication and bonding

The informants pointed to communication needs and kinship bonding with extended family members as the reasons for their family language policies, especially the need to maintain Mandarin in the home setting. The ideology of language as a tool for communication and bonding is especially evident in the two younger couples. Sharon (Couple 1) feels that the decision to speak predominantly in Mandarin to her daughter, Corrine, and the importance of Corrine acquiring Cantonese through her grandfather is especially driven by communication needs with the extended family “for kinship or for closeness” (Transcript 2, 33:35-34:13). In addition, she commented that given her parents’ limited proficiency in English, “it will be very sad if she keep on speaking English to my parents because they will never understand her at all” (Transcript 2, 33:35-34:13). Harold (Couple 2) shares similar views as Sharon and believes that there is a need for Geraldine to be able to speak Mandarin in order to “communicate effectively” with Janet’s Mandarin-speaking parents (Transcript 3, 18:21-19:12). His belief in the importance of “connection through the language” is further informed by his own growing up experience when he spoke Hainanese with his grandmother and felt that “there was more connection with my grandma through the language (Hainanese)” (Transcript 3, 18:21-19:12) even though his grandmother was able to speak Mandarin.

The observations of the two older couples (Couple 3 and Couple 4) seem to support the two younger couples’ belief in a pragmatic need for maintaining Mandarin as a home language. Both Couple 3 and Couple 4 shared similar observations on the language practice of their children when interacting with the grandparents. Even though the children’s abilities to express themselves in Mandarin are “very poor” (Transcript 4, 19:53-21:09; Transcript 5, 14:42-15:03), they will “automatically switch to Mandarin” (Transcript 4, 17:46-17:48) when speaking to the grandparents because that is the “*only way*” (Transcript 5, 10:40-11:02) for them to communicate. Yvonne also observes that Jackson will avoid code-switching and “*put in extra effort to speak in Mandarin with his grandmother, and he will think of how to translate his thoughts into Mandarin so that his grandmother will understand him*” (Transcript 5, 10:45-11:02). Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that the belief of “language as a communication and bonding tool with the extended family” in the two younger couples are being informed by their own

experiences and possibly their observations of other families, as well as the idea that it is part of their parental duties to facilitate this communication. Yvonne's comments also lend support to the previous discussion in Section 5.2.1 that while the parents' view of code-switching as a weakness in their children's proficiency in a language is a reflection of their belief in the "standard language" ideology, it is also very much driven by the need for one to be able to communicate with speakers who cannot understand code-switch conversations (e.g. the grandparents).

5.2.3 "I didn't want her to be just monolingual" - Language as a resource

The ideology of language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) is clearly articulated by the two younger couples during the interviews. Sharon (Couple 1) views their family language policy as ways to impart their "strengths" and feels that it will be for Corrine's own benefit if she is able to pick up as many languages as possible, so as to widen her communication circle. This is evidenced in Extract 8 below.

Extract 8

Sharon: ...**the more languages she can pick up the better**, so that she can communicate with more people around her.

(Transcript 2, 33:35-34:13)

...if we **have a certain kind of strength** in a certain language, we try to impart or influence our daughter in that direction."

(Transcript 2, 49:00-49:46)

Harold (Couple 2) also shares the view of languages as a resource and sees the acquisition of languages as an "advantageous" "life-skill" (see Extract 9).

Extract 9

Harold: **It's more like languages are a life-skill, so the more languages you pick up, the more advantageous it is.** So it's not strictly Mandarin. It's more the fact like, we can speak Mandarin. **So naturally, besides English, the**

next language will be Mandarin. So, as I mentioned before, I even encourage her to speak Hainanese, so the languages that we are more associated with, we try to expose her to it.

(Transcript 3, 21:08-21:52)

Janet talks about imparting her own bilingual strength and not wanting Geraldine to be a monolingual in Extract 10.

Extract 10

Janet: ...because I consider myself to be quite good in Mandarin...So **I didn't want her to be just monolingual.** I mean, if this is my strength, **I should also, you know, teach her.**

(Transcript 3, 09:39-10:15)

Janet feels that it is her responsibility to impart her strength in Mandarin to her child. Her comment about being “monolingual” would probably refer to her concern of Geraldine becoming “monolingual” in English. This concern is coherent with various extracts above (see Extracts 1, 3, 4 & 7), where the parents seem to position English and Mandarin in competing positions. They believe that as bilingual parents, they should ensure that their children do not grow up to be able to speak only English. The reason for this concern will become clearer when I discuss the informants' general observations about the dominance of English in Singapore society in the next section.

5.2.4 “Chinese language is an endangered language in this country” - English as the dominant language in Singapore society

As illustrated in section 5.1, Couple 1 and Couple 4 stated the dominance of English in Singapore as the basic motivation to maintain Mandarin as the predominant home language. All four couples shared similar observations on the dominance of English in Singapore as a factor for concern. I have categorised their observations into the following four perspectives: the dominance of English as the choice language in the younger generation, the language practices of other families, the lack of fluency in

Mandarin in young speakers and English as a language of commerce and status in Singapore.

They have observed that in contrast to their generation, where both English and Mandarin are used for communication in social settings (see Table 1), English has become the main language for daily communication in the younger generation. Samuel (Couple 4) commented that Jackson's language habit with his peers and cousins is "*purely in English*" (Transcript 5, 37:10-37:45), while Kelly (Couple 3) shared her observation of her two daughters who "pick up this habit of speaking English" once they enter pre-school because "all the rest are speaking in English" (Transcript 4, 17:08-17:37).

Sharon (Couple 1) also positions her perceived dominance of English in the society as a factor out of her control and a possible influence for Corrine to be "speaking English most of the time" (see Extract 11) when she starts schooling. Here, Sharon feels that it is her duty as a parent to "control factors that they can" in achieving her child-rearing goal of bilingualism and to expose Corrine to "a variety of languages from young¹²":

Extract 11

Sharon: Because, once she enters school, she will be carved and mould in a way that, because **Singapore's dominant language is English, so she will actually have a dominant language by then.** So what we can do, the factors that we can control, she should be exposed to a variety of languages from young. And by schooling age...then she can be cast and mould like just all the Singaporean kids are, you know, speak English most of the time, because that is required. **The expectation of the society has taught you to speak English.**

(Transcript 2, 36:05-36:52)

So to us, the environment is in English, she will be exposed to English anyway, **so we should try to do our part to expose her to more**

¹² As explained earlier, quotes from the interviews have not been corrected for grammatical errors.

Mandarin sources...

(Transcript 2, 39:51-40:20)

The informants also shared their observations of the language practices in other families. Janet (Couple 2) shared a conversation she had with her friends who speak “predominantly English” with their children (Transcript 3, 23:12-23:31) and who think that their children “are dominant in English because they always speak English” (Transcript 3, 23:34-24:04). In addition, Janet feels that the dominance of English in the society leads to other children’s lack of exposure to Mandarin, “And I think, there’s actually also a lot of children now who get so exposed to English, and that they really require a lot of help in Chinese” (Transcript 3, 12:25-13:03). Once again, the positioning of English and Mandarin as contesting powers on two ends of a spectrum can be detected from the parents’ discourse. Janet attributes the lack of proficiency in Mandarin in other children due to their constant exposure to English, and possibly a consequent lack of exposure to Mandarin.

In a similar vein, Yvonne (Couple 4) observes that her nephew, who is older than Jackson, is “*not conversant*” (Transcript 5, 44:41-44:49) in Mandarin because his parents speak to him in English since young and he is currently attending a school where students usually come from English-speaking families (Transcript 5, 43:47-44:18).

Samuel (Couple 4) notes the lack of fluency in Mandarin amongst young Chinese Singaporeans through his experience working in China and labels it as “heart-wrenching” (see Extract 12).

Extract 12

Samuel: *Although we claim to have a successful bilingual education, however, ...when you look at the Singaporeans... the kind of Mandarin that they speak when they are in China, it is like leftovers from a bowl of rice, it is quite **heart-wrenching** to see it.*

It is worth noting that in Samuel's discourse, he has positioned the proficiency of Mandarin in young Chinese Singaporeans against the backdrop of a bilingual education in Singapore. As explained in Chapter 2, although the Singapore government has termed its education system as "bilingual" (MOE, 2009: Para 6), in actual fact, in most of the schools, only English is used as the medium of instruction while the Mother Tongue languages are taught mainly as language subjects in school (MOE, 2009). The informants' comments about the education system will be further discussed in Section 5.2.6. In this instance, it is plausible to view Samuel's comments as positioning the lack of fluency in Mandarin as a consequence of dominance of English in Singapore.

Warren (Couple 1) takes a similar position with very critical comments - "Chinese language is an endangered language in this country. It is endangered by the elites, English speaking elites" (Transcript 2, 17:53-18:23). To understand the context of this comment, it is essential to understand that during the colonial times, English was the language of power as it was the language used by the British colonials (MOE, 2009b: Para 7-8). In addition, as discussed in Chapter 2, English has been chosen as the working language in Singapore since its gained independence in 1965. It is positioned as the language of commerce, science and technology (Chua, 2010: 415).

It is evident from their discourse that, along with the construction of an "English versus Mandarin" repertoire, they have also used their observations to construct a picture of "others versus self". Such rhetoric positions them as different from the others who have shifted towards using predominantly English in their daily lives. The dominance of English in the society and the increasing shift towards this dominance has led these informants, who mostly spoke Mandarin and dialectal languages before they acquired English in school, to feel that their language is being "endangered". Their observations lead in turn to their concern on the "dropping standard" (Transcript 2, Sharon, 42:33-43:33; Transcript 5, Thomas, 25:18-25:56) and the "loss" of Mandarin in Singapore, which we will discuss in the next two sections.

5.2.5 “It is more of the “un-Chineseness” that we want to undo”- Language as an ethnic identity marker and the carrier of culture.

In the previous section, I have illustrated that in the informants’ observations about the dominance of English in the society, there is a positioning of English and Mandarin as two contesting powers on two ends of a spectrum. However, I will also illustrate in this section that such a positioning does not mean that they want to contest the dominance of English in the society. Their way of positioning the two languages has more to do with their hope to maintain bilingualism in their children, as well as their concern of a “language loss in Mandarin”¹³. As seen in the previous sections, words such as “sad”, “*upsetting*” and “*heart-wrenching*” have been used by the informants to express their feelings about their children’s lack of proficiency in Mandarin or the lack of fluency in Mandarin in other people. What exactly is the language ideology underlying these reactions?

It is evident that these informants believe that language marks their identity. Samuel (Couple 4) feels that “*we are Chinese after all...*” (Transcript 5, 12:10-12:27) and “*as an ethnic Chinese, when you go to the big Chinese-region like China, if the Mandarin that you speak is incomprehensible to the others, it is actually very disgraceful*” (Transcript 5, 18:17-18:39). For Janet (Couple 2), it is almost basic logic to her when she said “we are Chinese, of course we have to speak a lot of Mandarin” (Transcript 3, 17:13-17:20), an indication that not only does Mandarin acts as an identity marker for these parents, the inability to speak Mandarin lessens one’s Chinese identity.

Yvonne thinks that given the environment in Singapore, where Singaporean Chinese students get the chance to learn Chinese language in school, the inability to converse in Mandarin is a “*sorrowful and tragic*” plight (Transcript 5, 22:47-24:33). She believes that it is a situation that “*should not have happened*” (Transcript 5, 22:47-24:33) by contrasting it to her ethnic Chinese clients from other South-east Asian countries who

¹³ Janet’s original words in Transcript 3 are “it’s something that shouldn’t be lost” (17:28-17:44) and “I think a lot of Chinese they can’t speak well, and I think we shouldn’t lose this field” (19:28-19:43).

do not have a natural linguistic environment (by virtue of having Mandarin-speaking Chinese and an education system which provides instruction of the Chinese language, Transcript 5, 21:30-22:30) to acquire Mandarin and think that it is a “privilege” to be able to speak Mandarin (Transcript 5, 21:30-22:30).

For Warren, not only does he feel that his child should grow up to be able to speak Mandarin, he also feels that “in a country like Singapore where the Chinese is a predominant community, it would be a shame not to be able to command a suitable level of proficiency in Chinese language” (Transcript 2, 15:49-16:06). In the same vein, Warren also associates the lack of proficiency in Mandarin as an indicator of a lack of ethnic identity and culture. He stated strongly that “I don’t want my child to be ‘banana’, so she will speak Chinese at home.” The word “banana” is a colloquial metaphor used by Warren to refer to the skin colour of a person. He explained that “a ‘banana’ is yellow on the outside and white in the inside” (Transcript 2, 26:21-27:16), referring to the idea that should Corrine grow up to be proficient only in English, then she is only a Chinese-looking person who has only Western culture in her.

In the case of Couple 3, their children’s reluctance to speak in Mandarin is an indication of a lack of identity, the identity of being ethnically Chinese. Although Thomas thinks that his eldest daughter, Dawn’s claim that “I am actually an English girl, I am not Chinese” (Transcript 4, 15:17-15:46) was merely child’s play, Kelly feels that “something doesn’t sound right” (Transcript 4, 26:48-27:07) if her children “doesn’t speak well or don’t want to speak well” (Transcript 4, 26:48-27:07) in Mandarin. In justifying their recent attempt to implement “Speak Mandarin Days” in their family after Dawn failed her Chinese test, Kelly felt that school grades are only a trigger. In Kelly’s mind, their current effort is also an attempt to establish a link between language and ethnic identity in their daughters. In her words, “it is more of the ‘un-Chineseness’ that we want to undo” (Transcript 4, 21:16-21:39).

Furthermore, the informants believe that language (in this case, they will mean Mandarin and subsequently literacy in Chinese) is the carrier of culture and a key to understanding the culture. These parents believe that without a certain proficiency in the language, it is not possible to fully appreciate the corresponding culture. Such thoughts are reflected in Sharon’s discourse, who feels that “language is part of culture” (Transcript 2, 21:03-21:42). Warren thinks that “It is not impossible, but it will be

generally less effective to learn another culture without speaking the language. And I don't just refer to Chinese language. It refers to many other cultures and languages. It is possible, but not as effective" (Transcript 2, 27:54-28:18).

Similar ideologies of language as an identity marker and the key to understanding the corresponding culture are being echoed by Kelly. Kelly feels that *"If you are a Chinese, you should know your culture. If you want to know that culture, you have to know that language"* (Transcript 4, 27:41-28:19). Moreover, her experience reading classical Chinese philosophy texts in English during her university days reinforced such a belief. *"For example, if you read Lao Tzu, Confucius and Analects. I read Analects in English, because I was reading philosophy, and NUS is in English. But I am very sure something is lost in the process of translation. So I feel that to understand that culture, it is necessary for you to understand it through that language."* (Transcript 4, 27:41-28:19).

It is evident that these parents believe that without a certain oral proficiency in Mandarin and a certain level of literacy in Chinese, their children will not be able to fully appreciate Chinese culture – the culture which these parents identify themselves with. One can recall from Section 4.4 that seven of the eight informants spoke Mandarin and Chinese dialectal languages as a child, and only acquired English when they started formal schooling. So, it is perhaps not surprising that these informants feel that knowing the Chinese language is necessary for them to identify with the Chinese culture. It is also indicative of a common ideology in these parents – if their children are not able to speak Mandarin and read Chinese, it makes them "un-Chinese". Conversely, if their children are able to speak Mandarin fluently and read Chinese newspapers, it is a proof of their "Chinese-ness" and possibly a proof that these parents have fulfilled their duties in bringing up children who *"will not forget their roots"* (Transcript 5, Samuel, 46:33-47:05).

I have demonstrated in this section that a potential "loss" in Mandarin signals a loss in their identity marker. In other words, these ideologies - Mandarin as a marker of their ethnicity as a Chinese Singaporean and Mandarin as a carrier of the culture that they embrace - are important influences to their language management.

It is noteworthy here that the ideologies in these parents concur with the official discourse on language policies by the Singapore government since the nation's

independence in 1965. As discussed in Chapter 2, in positioning its bilingual education policy as a cornerstone of the education system, the Singapore government has relentlessly reiterated the need for Singaporeans to know their respective mother tongue languages in order to connect with their Asian roots (e.g. Lee, 1971; MOE, 2010a: Para 8; Chua, 2010: 415). Hence, it is also possible that the ideologies of these informants have been formed during their own schooling years (c.f. Spolsky's (2004: 14) theory that beliefs can be both derived from and influence practices).

In the informants' discussions about the language being a key to understanding culture, the focus has moved beyond Mandarin as a spoken language into the area of literacy, which involves the ability to read and write Chinese. Although this project is more concerned with the languages spoken at home, literacy in both English and Mandarin is one of the main considerations in the families' pursuit to raise bilingual children. I shall turn to discuss briefly Sharon's and Samuel's comments on how the schooling system in Singapore has affected their family language policies in the next section.

5.2.6 "Because we think that the Singapore schools can't take care of that very well." - Education system as a concern

As discussed in Chapter 2, the bilingual education system in Singapore differs from the conventional understanding (e.g. Baker, 2006; Garcia, 2009a) where two languages are used to teach content subjects. Instead, in Singapore, generally only English is used as the medium of instruction in mainstream schools and this is one of the factors that Sharon and Warren (Couple 1) have taken into consideration when deciding on their family language policy (see Extract 13).

Extract 13

Sharon: We know that medium of schooling is English, so we expect that she (the child) can actually have quite a good education in English as well. **But for Mandarin, she won't be able to spend as much time as we want her to in the current system.** So that's why we chose to speak to her in Mandarin at home...

(Transcript 2, 14:27-14:59)

Because we believe that no matter which school you go to, even if they claim that they offer a bilingual programme, okay, my secondary school is also a SAP¹⁴ school ... we still end up speaking a lot of English. So in a way, **the pre-dominancy of English is existent throughout the education system in Singapore. So in a way, we are trying to control two factors...** The English is taken care of by the school.... But her Chinese, we should school her at home in a way. **Because we think that the Singapore schools can't take care of that very well.** (Transcript 2, 41:23-42:31)

Sharon spoke Mandarin and Hainanese as a child and has acquired English through a bilingual education in Singapore which uses English as the medium of instruction. It is evident that based on her own observations and experience in Singapore's education system, Sharon believes that if she wants Corrine to become bilingual like herself, she will need to expose Corrine to more Mandarin at home. She attributes her belief to the fact that more time will be spent using English in school and concludes that such an arrangement does not support her child-rearing goal of achieving bilingualism in English and Mandarin for Corrine. Therefore, even though Sharon has also observed the "pragmatism" (Transcript 2, 49:59-50:20) in other parents and "a lot of Singaporeans choose to speak to their kids in English, rather than Mandarin, because of the conceived advantage that they think their kids will get when they go up to mainstream schooling" (Transcript 2, 48:44-48:59), she has chosen to do otherwise. She believes that there will be a better chance in achieving her child-rearing goal if Corrine has a language environment similar to what she had experienced in her childhood, speaking mainly Mandarin and dialects before schooling,

Similarly, Samuel (Couple 4) commented that the "system in education in schools actually makes them (children) speak more English" (Transcript 5, 08:54-09:25) and cited Jackson as an example for his observations that "as the young ones speak more

¹⁴ SAP-Special Assistance Plan schools. "SAP schools were first established in 1979 to preserve the ethos of the Chinese medium schools and to promote the learning of Chinese Language and culture". Ministry of Education in Singapore, Press Release on 11 February 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/press/2008/02/enhanced-programmes-by-special.php>

and more English, their standard of Mandarin will become lower and lower gradually” (Transcript 5, 08:54-09:25). Therefore, it is evident Samuel has also drawn a similar conclusion that the education system in Singapore is not supportive enough in helping Jackson to become bilingual.

5.3 Further Discussion: Language maintenance amidst societal language shift as the ideal parent language ideology

I have illustrated in Section 5.1 that families who are maintaining Mandarin in the home setting, either through adopting bilingual policy in English and Mandarin, Mandarin and Cantonese, or speaking predominantly Mandarin with their children are being motivated by the aim of achieving dynamic bilingualism for their children. I have also unravelled the ideologies underlying their family language policies in Section 5.2. In this discussion, it is important to recognise that the most influential ideologies underlying their family language policies is not merely the aim of rearing bilingual children who can use two languages to communicate and bond with others.

In the discourse of these informants, I have illustrated how they have set up an “English versus Mandarin” platform to explain their concerns. I have also shown how they have used “others versus self” to justify their own decisions. If one compares their ways of narration to the couple (Lionel and Cherry) in the pilot study, one will find strikingly similar ways of justifying their family language policies. For instance, Cherry uses her nephew who is fluent in English but sounds “unconfident” and “weird” in Mandarin as an example of what she does not want her child to become (See Section 4.1). Similarly, Yvonne uses her elder nephew who is not conversant in Mandarin as the example which triggered their family language policy and the choice of secondary school for their son (see Transcript 5, 43:47-45:21).

In these discourse, the ideology of a need to maintain Mandarin as an ethnic identity marker has come out as a very strong motivator for their family language policies. Whether it is a policy of maintaining bilingualism in English and Mandarin or Mandarin and Cantonese in the family, or using predominantly Mandarin in the home, these policies are geared towards the same motivation of achieving dynamic bilingualism in English and Mandarin. The maintenance of Mandarin as a language

which their children will be able to use is not only for gaining an extra resource for communication. These parents have specifically highlighted their ideology of maintaining Mandarin as the key to understanding their own culture and the key to giving one their own identities. They have contrasted their hopes against the images of the “others” in the society: families who have shifted towards using predominantly English with their children, the younger generation who are choosing predominantly English in their daily lives and the younger generation who are dominant in English and speak Mandarin poorly. These images are used as a contrast to inform them as they make their language management decisions. These images are also used as a contrast to remind them that this is what they do not want their children to become. They have grown up to become bilingual and they want their children to be bilingual like them. This concurs with the ideal proposed by the Singapore government’s discourse on “bilingualism”, where English is the language of science and technology, and the Mother Tongue languages are the key to one’s identity, culture and values (see discussion in Chapter 2, c.f. e.g. Lee, 1971; MOE, 2010a: Para 8). Within factors that they can control, they will try to prevent their children from being part of the language shift towards “monolingualism” (Transcript 3, 09:39-10:15, Janet’s words) in English.

In this sense, the language ideologies motivating these parents are their way of making sense of who they are and who their children will become. From a top-down perspective, Anderson (1983) has stressed the importance of shared participation in literacy activities written in standardized, national languages, as a means of creating national identities. In the same token, the language management of these parents can be seen as bottom-up efforts in the search of their own identity as the descendants of early immigrants to the island of Singapore. It is their journey in search of an identity as a Singaporean Chinese. As they observe the changes in language practices in the society, it instilled in them fear of a potential loss in language and possibly their heritage. They do not want their children to be “identified as Singaporeans Chinese because of their poor grasp in Mandarin¹⁵” (Transcript 5, 22:47-24:33, Yvonne’s comments). Neither do

¹⁵ This quote was paraphrased from part of Yvonne’s original comments: “*And from the viewpoint of a Chinese national, this marks a Singaporean – they can’t speak in a complete sentence (in Mandarin), you know? Sometimes, they will say, Yvonne, your Mandarin is so good... to them, they have encountered too many (Singaporeans) who speak really lousy Mandarin, so for them, we are rarity...*” (Transcript 5, 22:47-24:33)

they want their children to be incomprehensible in Mandarin when speaking to other Mandarin speakers. These parents hope that their children will be able to communicate well in both English and Mandarin. Speaking well and fluent to them is not about being native-like. It is more about being effective in communicating with others and maintaining the language is not only about gaining a resource. It is also about retaining what they hope will make them Singaporean Chinese – people in a land of immigrants and a land of immigrants who have retained their heritage.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research project has been motivated by two phenomenon observed in Singapore: a societal language shift towards English as the predominant home language across all ethnic groups, and the observation that some families are making efforts to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages. I have demonstrated in this dissertation that families who are maintaining Mandarin through different family language policies are attempting to achieve the common goal of dynamic bilingualism in their children. I have also revealed the parental language ideologies revealed through the informants' discourse. Their decision to maintain Mandarin in the home setting has been largely motivated by the belief that while their children will grow up in an English dominant society and will have no problem acquiring English, they as parents have the responsibility to ensure their children grow up to be bilingual in both English and Mandarin. They believe that Mandarin is needed for communication and bonding with the extended family members. These parents are all bilingual (perhaps even multilingual, if one includes the different Chinese dialectal languages that they are able to understand). They believe that language is a resource and a life-skill, and hope that their children will become bilingual too. More importantly, I have concluded that these parents see the maintenance of Mandarin in a society which is becoming increasingly English-dominant as a vital key to constructing their own identity as a Singaporean Chinese - a Singaporean Chinese who has a key to his own culture and ethnic heritage. I have also concluded that this ideology concurs with the official discourse on the roles of English and the Mother Tongue languages put forward by the Singapore government in the process of nation-building (c.f. Lee, 1971; MOE, 2010a: Para 8; Chua, 2010: 415) .

This dissertation has shown that from the informants' perspective, their decision to maintain Mandarin as one of the home languages is essentially an act of resistance towards the societal language shift towards English as the predominant home language in Singapore.

Nevertheless, the findings of this research project alone will not be adequate to address the issue of language shift towards English as the predominant home language in Singapore. As a multi-case study consisting of only four families, this research has provided insights into the parental language ideologies motivating the maintenance of Mandarin as a home language. However, as the number of cases studied is relatively

small and the selection of informants has been reliant on my own social network, it will be inconclusive to generalize the findings of this study. Moreover, the study has been based on self-reports from the informants. Therefore, it will be beneficial if future research can look into the actual language practices of families who have reported to be maintaining Mandarin in the home setting. In addition, the informants in this study are mainly white-collar professionals. Hence, it will be useful to replicate this study on more families from different backgrounds.

More importantly, language maintenance groups such as the Promote Mandarin Council¹⁶ in Singapore may find it useful to replicate this study on young bilingual couples who are using only predominantly English with their children. By integrating findings and understanding of parental language ideologies from both sides of the camp - bilingual parents who are maintaining Mandarin as one of the home languages and bilingual parents who are using English as the predominant home language, language maintenance efforts in Singapore can be better designed to address the issue. Such efforts will definitely be beneficial for the long term goal of achieving and maintaining bilingualism in the general Singapore population.

¹⁶ The Promote Mandarin Council consists of both private and public sector individuals, with secretariat support from the National Library Board of Singapore, and organises the annual Speak Mandarin Campaign in Singapore.

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Appendix A: Consent Form



University of Edinburgh

MSc in Applied Linguistics 2010/2011

Consent Form

**Linguistics & English Language Archives
Informed Consent: Use of Recorded Speech**

You are about to participate in a study which involves recording your speech. Please read the information below and tick all boxes that apply. Please sign and date below to confirm your willingness to participate, once you are happy with how the recordings will be used. Thank you.

About the interview

This interview is about the parental language practices of young Singaporean parents when raising bilingual children. The interview would be conducted over the internet and web video recording with separate mp3 voice files would be used to facilitate transcription and data analysis. The separate mp3 voice files are used to ensure anonymity.

The data collected would be used for a dissertation research for the MSc in Applied Linguistics in the University of Edinburgh. Anonymity of respondents is assured and only data required for analysis will be collected. The interviewees have the right to listen to all recordings and to erase any of them or part of them.

Consent for participation

Yes No

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

I consent to having my video and speech recorded for this research project
A study on family language practices in Singapore. (PI: Lea Shu-Hui). I
have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the tasks.

Yes No

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

I understand that I have the right to terminate this recording session at any
point. The recording of my speech will be deleted at that time, and will be
returned to me upon request.

Use of Recordings:

Specific research project use

Yes No

☐ ☐

I agree that these recordings may be used for the specific research project *A study on family language practices in Singapore* (PI: Lea Shu-Hui), and understand that these recordings may be used in teaching or research-related presentations and publications. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

General research use

Yes No

☐ ☐

I agree that these recordings may be kept permanently in the Linguistics & English Language archives, and that they may be used by the above-named researcher as well as by other researchers for teaching or research purposes, in presentations, and publications. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

General public use

Yes No

☐ ☐

I agree that these recordings may be kept permanently in the Linguistics & English Language archives, and may be made publicly available for general use, e.g. used in radio or television broadcasts, or put on the world-wide web. My name will not be revealed under any circumstances.

Yes No

☐ ☐

Are you willing to participate in future experiments?

Name: _____ Email: _____ Date: _____

Name: _____ Email: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

An Interview on Family Language Policies in Singapore

The semi-structured interviews were guided by the following interview questions, which were divided into three main sections. As the actual conversations during the interviews were guided by the informants' responses, the sequence of the questions asked during the interviews may be different from what is being shown here. Questions which have not been pre-planned might have been asked during the interview too.

Section 1: Informants' self-reported language practices

Q1.	Could you share briefly the language you spoke as a child?
Q2.	What are the language norms between you and your peers in school? (Primary school, Secondary school, Junior Colleges, University)
Q3.	Currently, what languages do you speak most of the time in the following domains of use? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Work, social life, home (between spouse, with other people in the household), religion (if applicable)

Section 2. Parental language management and child-rearing goals

Aim of Section: Find out about the family's parental language management, language beliefs and parental practices and child-rearing goals.

Q4.	Please tell us how old your children are.
Q5.	So, did you and your spouse discuss about family language planning when you were expecting your first child? <i>if yes, continue with the following questions</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">○ What was your discussion like then, if you remember? And what were your decisions? <u>Why</u> did you make that decision?
Q6.	Please give us a brief account of your parental language practices, i.e. what languages do you use with your child? <u>Why</u> do you use these languages with your children?

Q7.	If there are other caretakers, please also provide an account of their language practices with the child. <u>Why</u> are these languages used (instead of others)?
Q8.	What are your child-rearing goals? <u>Why</u> did you decide on these goals?

Section 3: Factors Influencing Parental Language Management (More on the WHYs-The Ideologies)

Aim of section: Depending on the depth and breadth of the interviewees' answers in Section 2, the following questions will be posed to them to find out more about the parents' language belief and what informed and shaped their beliefs.

Q9.	What are some of the factors which may have influenced your family language policy with your children?
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Thank you for your time and participation.

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcription Conventions

The interviews have been transcribed mainly for content. The interviews were mainly conducted in either or both English and Mandarin. Some Singlish particles were used during the interviews too. Standard orthographies in English and Simplified Chinese characters have been adopted for transcriptions. The interviews have not been transcribed for prosody. The following transcription conventions have been used in Transcripts 1 -5.

[Left-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk begins.
]	Right-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk ends.
...	Cut in transcribed speech shown in the extract. Full transcription can be found in Appendix C.
(1.0)	Noticeable pauses in speech, with length of time in seconds in the parentheses.
()	Words inserted in transcription by the transcriber to facilitate understanding
(())	Transcriber's comments to encode events which are hard to transcribe
Yes	Words in bold to highlight element of text salient for analysis
<i>Yeah</i>	Words in unbold italics to represent speech translated from Mandarin into English.
lah	Singlish particle, often used by Singaporean speakers to at the end of a phrase for emphasis or to mark the end of speech.
leh	Singlish particle, often used by Singaporean speakers to mark a question statement or to mark exclamation at the end of speech.
lor	Singlish final particle, often used at the ends of sentences or at pauses to express affirmation, the emergence of a new set of circumstances, or to hasten or dissuade.

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Date of Interview: 16 April 2011

Section 1: Personal Language Experiences

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	First of all, maybe we can chat a little about yourselves right, your own language experiences as a child. For example, share briefly the language that you spoke as a child. Erm, we can start with either Cherry or Lionel.	00:01-01:32
Cherry:	Okie, my family right, they speak mainly in Chinese, so I grew up in a Chinese speaking environment. So I can remember in Primary One right, I excelled in all my subjects except for English. So, it was quite hard to pick up English when I go to school. So, this was my personal experience.	01:33-01:53
Researcher:	Do you use dialects at home?	01:54-01:55
Cherry:	Yah we do but not that much, because at that time our government is promoting Mandarin and less use of dialects. Uhm, but as our parents speak to each other in dialect, that's how we pick up.	01:57-02:09
Researcher:	Okie, yah, then what about Lionel?	02:10-02:12
Lionel:	As for myself, my family speaks more of English, ok plus a bit of Chinese on and off, and dialect also.	02:13-02:17
Researcher:	Are your parents English educated or?	02:20-02:29
Lionel:	My mum is English educated, my dad is Chinese educated. Soooh, they are comfortable in both, so we speak arrh whichever comes, erm whichever is comfortable for that topic.	02:31-02:43
Researcher:	Ok.	02:44
Cherry:	And dialect is probably spoken mainly to [grandparents].	02:45-02:49
Lionel:	[grandparents].	
Researcher:	Ok. What are the language norms between you and your peers in school ?	02:55-03:14

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	For example, tell me by section, like primary school, secondary school, junior college, university. Like, what is the usual language that you speak between, among you and your friends in school, for the different stages of schooling.	
Lionel:	Hmm, my primary school is erm, (0.3) we spoke a lot of Mandarin or Chinese. Secondary school, erm in Chinese. Erm Poly, in Chinese, generally lah, in Chinese. Then university in English.	03:15-03:42
Researcher:	Then Cherry leh?	03:43-03:44
Cherry:	I think Chinese is, arh, primary school is mainly Chinese, but from secondary onwards, I always have a mixture of Chinese and Mandarin and English. So, erm like, when we are chitchatting, mainly in Chinese, but in school context, like ECAs and activities, it will be mainly in English.	03:47-04:08
Researcher:	Ok, then currently what languages do you speak most of the time in the following domains? One is work, one is your social life, and then another one is at home right, between spouse and other members of the household, not including the child. So it is what languages do you think you speak most of the time?	04:10-04:34
Cherry:	For me it is still a mixture of English and Chinese. Cos, in work, er my immediate boss is erm Brit, that's why I have to speak to him in English. But my immediate colleague she is from China, so she's most comfortable speaking in Chinese. So workwise, it is a mixture of English and Chinese. But if let's say in meetings, like more serious environment, it's definitely in English. So social wise, mainly Chinese but of course mixture of English. And what else?	04:35-05:15
Lionel:	And between us.	05:15-05:16
Cherry:	In family, family uhm same. In my own family, my side of the family speaks in Chinese and a little mix of English because of the kids.	05:17-05:29
Researcher:	Ok.	05:30
Cherry:	And for us, I think it's really mixture.	05:31-05:34
Researcher:	Ok. So between you and Lewis is also a mixture right?	05:35-05:37
Cherry:	Uhm ((nod in agreement))	05:38
Lionel:	Uhm ((nod in agreement))	
Researcher:	And then Lionel leh? For work and social?	05:39-05:40
Lionel:	Anything formal will be English. ok anything informal, uhmmmm, is a mix also lah. Erm I will put Chinese first, then English.	05:41-05:59
Researcher:	Again, sorry can you repeat?	06:00

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Lionel:	It all depends on who I am talking to. It all depends on that particular person, that person I am talking to. Erm, if that person comes erm default to me in English, I will start in English. If that person comes default in Chinese, I will start in Chinese. So it all depends on that person I am talking to.	06:01-06:17
Researcher:	Ok. But just now you were saying you will put Chinese first?	06:18-06:22
Lionel:	Generally, more people come to us talk in Chinese most of the time in office. We will start off in Chinese lah. But then there will be some people although Chinese, but you look at him, you will speak in English.	06:23-06:35
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Researcher:	Ok, can both of you just state what jobs you are doing now? Just state the simple title of your job scope now.	06:40-06:44
Lionel:	I am a Senior System Analyst, erm doing system support, system management, erm, ensuring system availability for my company.	06:45-06:59
Researcher:	Ok.	06:60
Cherry:	For me, I am a product controller in Credit Suisse.	07:02-07:06
Researcher:	Ok. Erm, for both of you, I don't think religion comes into play, does it?	07:07-07:11
Lionel:	Nope.	07:13
Cherry:	Nope.	07:17

Section 2: Family Language Policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time Check
Researcher:	Okie, actually can you just tell me how old Mindy is now?	07:19
Lionel:	Mindy is 21 months.	07:21-07:23
Researcher:	21 months, Okie. Erm, perhaps you can just tell us if you and spouse actually discuss about family language planning, when you were expecting this child? Like before she was born, did you like discuss about the languages that you were going to speak to her?	07:24-07:45
Cherry:	I don't think we specifically sit down and talk about it before. But we are always under the conception that we will be	07:46- 08:50

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time Check
	<p>speaking to her in English, and probably the grandparents in Chinese, so that she will be, she will not be confused by both languages.</p> <p>But it turns out, because Lionel's mum is looking after Mindy, and Lionel's mum somehow seems to like to use English to speak to her as well, so we decided we need to introduce Chinese. Because I think probably when she turned one, we realized that she seems more comfortable speaking in English than in Chinese.</p> <p>So, uhm, we didn't really say who should, we didn't take the approach of like one of us talk to her in English and one of us speak to her in Chinese. So it's a matter of erm, environment, like probably, we decided like, okie, we haven't spoken in Chinese for a while, so one of us may start speaking Chinese to her, so the other will join in. So it will be a purely Chinese speaking session. But it's more impromptu than planned.</p>	
Researcher:	Ok.	08:51
Cherry:	Yah, to get her interested, we try to play Chinese music, songs, and [arh]	08:52-08:57
Lionel:	[School plays a part also]	08:57-09:02
Cherry:	Yah and school plays a part also. Uhm, ok, do you want to ask some questions?	09:03-09:06
Researcher:	No, you just continue to say.	09:07
Cherry:	<p>Erm okie.</p> <p>She just attended school, like a month plus ago. So before that we already started to introduce more Chinese to her. Er, but I think school, she has like quite a number of mainland Chinese teacher, so she seems to like, it's not so...</p>	09:08-09:28
Lionel:	resistant to [Chinese]	09:28-09:33
Cherry:	[Yah, resistant] to using Chinese anymore.	
Researcher:	Oh, okie.	09:34
Cherry:	Now she will listen to Chinese songs and she will sing in Chinese. So, we feel that she is more comfortable in both languages (0.3) now.	09:35-09:41
Researcher:	So you are saying that both of you, your language practices with your child kind of change when she was 1 year old, when you realized that she was kind of resisting Chinese, right? And then you make more effort to speak more Chinese to her.	09:42-10:00
Cherry:	It's not only resisting Chinese, it is more of when we, like, uhm, when we read Chinese story book to her, and she try to	10:01-10:21

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time Check
	repeat, like Ma1 ma 妈妈, then her Ma1 ma sounds very English. Then we realized that, something may not be too right. ((Laughs)). So we introduce more Chinese to her.	
Researcher:	Okie, when did Lionel's mum start to take care of her?	10:22-10:24
Cherry:	Uhm,	
Lionel:	Since birth.	10:26-10:27
Cherry:	Yah, since birth.	10:28
Researcher :	Ok, currently still?	10:29
Lionel:	Yes, after her school hours. She will take care until we are back.	10:30-10:36
Researcher:	Ok, so in this case, so the main caretakers will be both of you and Lionel's mum. That's all right?	10:37-10:46
Lionel:	Yes.	10:46
Cherry:	But for a big amount of time, she will be attending childcare. So, for Monday to Friday, she will attend childcare from 8 (am) to 5(pm)	10:47-10:55
Researcher:	Currently?	10:55
Cherry:	Yah, then my mother-in-law will pick her up at 5(pm) and we will see her around 7(pm) to 8(pm), then we will bring her home for the night. Saturday and Sunday, is just mainly with the two of us.	10:56-11:14
Researcher:	And currently your school means childcare right?	11:15-11:17
Cherry:	Yah	11:18
Researcher:	Before this childcare, she didn't go to other infant-care or something like that right?	11:19-11:24
Cherry:	No.	11:25
Lionel:	No.	
Researcher:	This schooling will be like the first socialization that she has with other children?	11:26-11:32
Cherry:	We used to go Jubilee class every Saturday, it's only like for-night, like 45 minutes per week. So, I am not sure whether that counts.	11:32-11:44
Researcher:	Oh, I was just trying to find out. Because you mentioned that she has some change. Then, for choosing the school, when you choose the school, did language come into consideration, for your choice of school?	11:45-11:58

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time Check
Cherry:	Er, language, (0.3) it does but it is not one of the main concerns. So, because our main concern will probably be like, her reaction to the school, the teachers, whether she likes them and the environment. We want an open and clean and safe environment for her. Uhm, but we do look at the teachers and ask about like qualification of teachers and how well they speak. Erm but sometimes, we know that these cannot be controlled because teachers can come and go. So it's one of the criteria but it's not one of the main one for school.	12:03 –12:40
Researcher:	Ok but do you think that like currently like the school has quite a lot of mainland teachers, meaning that they tend to converse more in Chinese with the kids as well?	12:41-12:52
Cherry:	Uhm, yes. They do have their local teachers, who are so called their English teachers but their English erm, may not be like of a certain quality. So, but the Chinese teachers, of course they are very good in their Chinese. So she has regular Chinese classes everyday. They will sing song, like learn about one's parts in Chinese, so I think she has more interaction in Chinese in classroom settings as well as in play. So I think that helps a lot in making her more comfortable in the language.	12:53- 13:30
Researcher:	Ok, so like currently, when you are talking to Mindy, will you kind of in your mind decide what to say, which language to say it first, or it will just maybe comes spontaneously which language you are going to use?	13:31-13:46
Lionel:	I think spontaneous. Yah.	13:47-13:51
Cherry:	Yah, we don't really plan like today is a Chinese day or tomorrow is an English day. So it's more of like, erm, let's, all of a sudden, we will just think ok, let's speak Chinese to her. Then, somehow, the other, the partner will just join in and then we will just speak chinese to her. And now, she manage to respond in Chinese as well, which we think is good. But most of the time, it's still mainly in English.	13:52-14:15
Researcher:	It's quite interesting when you tell me that you don't have a Chinese day and a English day. Where does this idea come from actually, even though you don't use it?	14:16-14:25
Cherry:	I don't know. Probably someone will? I don't know? ((laughs))	14:25-14:29
Researcher:	Or you heard of it from somebody or somebody you know uses it?	14:30-14:33
Cherry:	Probably I read it somewhere uhm but not that (0.2) so subconsciously it is somewhere in my mind. but we don't have, I cannot remember. ((Laugh))	14:34-14:44

Section 3: Factors Influencing Parental Language Ideologies

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. Then maybe you can erm, just, both of you can separately tell me, you know like, what are some of the factors, which might have like kind of motivated you to do more Chinese with her now, that when you decided you should speak more Chinese to her at times. Previously you mentioned, like you kind of realized she had very little Chinese influence, that you think , oh maybe we should try to give her a little more Chinese, so maybe you can explain what are some factors which might have influenced you to such a decision.	14:45-15:25
Lionel:	To me, I think it is the balance that she is er, the language that she is using lah. The balance in the frequency and the accuracy of how the particular language that she is in at that point of time. If I feel that uhm, she is erm, er, gearing towards, more comfortable in English, then generally we will go towards using more Chinese to converse with her. But if we find that the Chinese influence is ok, everything is fine, then er, we will always go back to using English to teach her anything new.	15:25- 16:14
Cherry:	((Laughs, says softly to Lionel)) , that does not really matter.	16:15
Lionel:	Okie, that's for me lah.	16:16
Researcher:	Sorry, again , your last sentence? I couldn't hear.	16:17
Lionel:	Erm, what was my last sentence? (0.2) Generally, the whole idea is it all depends on her progress. If we feel that she is comfortable in certain, in, in, if we find that the balance is tilted towards one side, we will use the other.	16:19-16:37
Cherry:	((Laughs)). I conclude that he is a slave driver. If he feels that she is comfortable in English, he will make her speak Chinese. ((Laughs))	16:39-16:48
	Cherry and Lionel tried to entertain Mindy who was in front of the computer too, so that she will keep quiet again.	16:50-17:09
Cherry:	So for me, I think what drives it (0.2) I think it's because I see what happened to my sister's son, Jerome, cos he is sort of first grandchild in my mum's family. And, and (0.2), he (0.5) sometimes I feel that our generation, when educating our kids, we focus too much on English. So ends up, her generation, the younger generation, the new generation, a lot of them speaks very very fluent and very good English. But they seem to be lacking in the Mandarin, erm or their own language, their mother tongue. So, when I saw my nephew, he attended very good childcare and he can erm, he can converse very well in English. But when he speaks Chinese, he looks he looks shy, and he looks not confident. And even though he knows how to write, but he's not so confident in like conversation. And when he speaks, it sounds weird. Like I say, the English kind of Chinese.	17:10-19:17

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>That's why I decided I don't want my kid to be like that. Because, growing up, we have, I had problem with English. I think it's very difficult. I have to make a lot of extra effort. So I don't want my child to lose that part of Chinese also.</p> <p>Because I felt like, I like Chinese a lot. We learn Chinese, Chinese literature, and talk to our friends in Chinese, the 成语谚语, so this is something that I wish, I kept all these books, I wish she will learn. So to me, focus in Mandarin is also very important. I think the tendency for us is to focus in English, and I want to strike a balance. So I can say that my nephew is a warning sign to tell us that we have to do something before my daughter is too old.</p>	
Researcher:	How old is your nephew now?	19:18-19:21
Cherry:	He is 8.	19:22-19:23
Researcher:	So what about the rest of your nieces and nephews? Also the same situation?	19:24-19:32
Cherry:	Erm, yes. It's quite the same situation. Their parents like to speak to their kids in English, and they will only converse in Chinese to their grandparents. But even if they do, it sounds weird. They are not as confident using Chinese as compared to English.	19:33-19:54
Researcher:	And in their cases, what do their grandparents use to them? Like your parents, what language will they be speaking to your niece and nephews?	19:55-20:04
	(0.5)	
Lionel:	Chinese.	20:07
Cherry:	My parents? Yah, Chinese. And they will reply in English. And if in Chinese, it will be in weird Chinese.	20:08-20:18
Researcher:	So they reply generally in English right?	20:19-20:21
Cherry:	Erm, no. As they grow older, I think they will reply in Chinese as well. But you know, it's not so fluent.	20:22-20:32
Researcher:	Does Singapore's education right, like say Singapore's bilingual education policy has any factors pushing you, like for example you say Lionel is a slave driver kind. Does it has any effect on you, (0.5) trying to push your kid to the best?	20:32-20:52
Cherry:	I don't think it is so much of Singapore's bilingual education policy. Maybe it used to, because we are educated in this way. But (0.5) probably not directly influence us but indirectly, cos we grow up in this kind of environment, we know the importance of both Mandarin and English. That's why we want our kid to excel in this aspect as well.	20:53 –21:20

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Lionel:	En. ((Lionel nods his head in agreement))	21:21
Cherry:	But the policy does not play a part now, but it probably plays a part in molding our expectations. Does it make sense? ((Laugh))	21:22-21:32
Researcher:	You said that, for you all, because you grow up in this environment, so both languages are important to you. Would you like to tell me what is it, why is it important?	21:33-21:45
Cherry:	(2.0) Erm...	
Researcher:	Why do you think both languages are important to you?	21:47-21:50
Cherry:	Ok, because as I said, now I am working in a, in this multinational company right, and I have a small team, so my immediate team is just my immediate boss and fellow colleague. One is from England, so he focus a lot on Eng, of cos, his main language is English. And my the other colleague, she's a mainland Chinese. Then, I am glad that because we have this bilingual environment right, I have no problem talking to both of them. Like I can understand both of them very well, and when my boss speaks to the two of us, erm, usually I am the one with less issue, like understanding him and replying to him. And he will always make fun of my colleague, cos her English is not that good and she always end off with "wahs" and "lah lors" behind. So he's trying to correct her most of the time. But he has no issue with me. So whether it is spoken or written, I think I stand a bigger advantage as compared to my friend from China who only started learning English probably when she is in her late teens, when she came to Singapore to study. But at the same time when I speak to my colleague in Mandarin right, she's always like, she's very ok with speaking with me erm in Mandarin, and in fact she is quite surprised that we know a lot of Chinese words that she thought most Singaporeans might not know. So I am glad, because we gone through like Higher Chinese in secondary school, so sometimes I think in a way it helps me socialize better with my colleagues.	21:50 -23:35
Researcher:	What about Lionel leh?	23:36-23:39
Lionel:	What's the question again?	23:40-23:42
Researcher:	Like why are you a slave driver for your daughter? What is the underlying motivation?	23:43-23:50
Lionel:	Now, I think that erm, a balance in both is important in our society. In our society now in Singapore. Ok, because English is still the key language in terms of formal work and anything that is erm formally related lah. So, okie, but, so, English side it has to be important, and then on the Chinese portion, generally people in Singapore tends	23:50-24:48

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	to speak in Chinese. So at a social aspect, I think if you do not arh fare well in a certain, in this particular language, you may be erm (0.1), I won't, I won't use the word left out lah. But then, for me, socially you will have a more restrictive group of friends.	
Cherry:	Sometimes language bonds	24:49-24:51
Lionel:	Bonds, yah.	24:52-24:53
Researcher:	So for both of you, actually, Chinese language is a kind of a bond as well.	24:54-25:01
Cherry:	For me, English bonds as well. But because in Singapore, our generation, most people still prefer to speak in Chinese, unless it is in more formal context. So it still helps that we can speak to each other in Chinese.	25:03-25:18
Researcher:	Ok.	25:19
Cherry:	And of course we know that China will be that next big thing.	25:20-25:25
Lionel:	No, that's not in the consideration.	25:26-25:27
Cherry:	I mean, probably subconsciously you will.	25:28-25:30
Lionel:	For me, not.	25:31-25:32
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Researcher:	((Laughs)) Ok, so for Cherry, China is a consideration, for Lewis it's not.	25:33-25:36
	(1.0)	
Researcher:	What about cultural and heritage issues? Did you like, I mean, did you feel that your child, because, you have seen your nephew and nieces speaking more English and not very comfortable with Chinese, erm , and you don't really want your daughter to be like that. So do you consider like, because you are Chinese, you should have, erm it is important for your child to master the language?	25:38 -26:00
	(5.0)	
Lionel:	Hmm... I think I won't use the word master lah but I think erm, be proficient in that particular language is good enough lor.	26:05-26:15
Cherry:	You aren't answering the question. The question is, is it because you are Chinese, that's why you want your child to be proficient in Chinese?	26:16-26:23
Lionel:	That is, (0.5), that is erm (0.5), I thought that is the prerequisite?	26:24-26:30
Researcher:	((Laughs))	
Cherry:	Really?	

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Cherry:	For me, I am not so particular that because I am a Chinese, I need my child to be proficient in Chinese, or if I am Indian, I want my child to be Indian.	26:32-26:41
Lionel:	No. To me, it is more of communication. Because, if let's say I am a Chinese, generally my family people, my family will speak Chinese. So, so, in order for her to be able to communicate effectively to everybody in the family, this is a prerequisite, a prerequisite to her. That she don't have to master but she has to be proficient.	26:42--27:04
	(2.0)	
Researcher:	((Laughs))	
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Researcher:	What's the difference between master and proficient?	27:08-27:11
Cherry:	((softly)) doesn't matter.	
Lionel:	No. there is a, arh, there is a, to me there is a difference.	27:12-27:16
Researcher:	Ok, like what kind of difference?	27:17-27:18
Lionel:	To me it's like erm, probably it's it's you can you can probably do some reading, some uhm some speaking you know. Probably you don't have to go to the extent where you can er go into a lot of in-depth Chinese language kind of study. You know. (1.0) Yah, but to master is like you know you can virtually this language is you can write anything, you can do anything with this language.	27:19-27:48
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Lionel:	That's my definition.	27:53-27:54
Cherry:	So what, we are proficient in Chinese, while [you are master in Chinese.]	27:55-27:58
Lionel:	[you are master in Chinese.]	
Researcher:	((Laughs)) So, how proficient do you consider yourself to be?	28:02-28:03
Lionel:	Arh, (1.0) just good enough to ...(unclear)	28:04-28:07
Researcher:	Just good enough to what?	28:08-28:11
Lionel:	To speak the language.	28:12-28:14
Researcher:	Ok, ok.	28:14
Lionel:	It's not good enough.	28:15-28:16
Researcher:	Ok, so in your case, if you are saying this, just enough to speak, for yourself, so you actually have higher hopes for your	28:17-28:23

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	child?	
Lionel:	My arh, what I expect of her is, if she can speak to me, I am fine with it lah. Whether she can write or not, I think that is more of a prerequisite for school, for academic rather than my requirement.	28:24-28:38
Researcher:	Ok. (3.0). Erm,	
Cherry:	Wait wait, I am not done with the culture thing.	28:42-28:44
Researcher:	Yah, yah, yah, we have not answered actually.	28:48-28:51
Cherry:	Ok, for me I don't think is what drives me to erm , to encourage my daughter to use Mandarin. It's because I myself know this language, and I like the language, because there's so much to offer, like the character, the stories, and all the ideas behind. That's why I will like her to know what I have learnt. Like probably in future. So, I don't think culture is. I may be a Chinese but if I don't know Chinese and I know maybe erm Malay, I will want her to learn Malay, I like Malay. So it's not so much of what kind of culture I am in. But it's whether I have opportunity to learn that culture and I like that culture.	28:55 -29:41
Researcher:	(1.0) Okie, (0.5) it's a bit confusing.	
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Researcher:	No, it's ok. So you are telling me that, you don't think that language and culture is really linking together? Or	29:49-30:00
Cherry:	(1.5)Erm,	
Researcher:	Because you are saying that you like Chinese, you got to know a lot of things through Chinese, that's why you hope Mindy will have the same access as you right?	30:03-30:14
Cherry:	Yah	30:15
Researcher:	But these access, certain things you mentioned, seem to be part of the word 'culture'. Like you are talking about stories,	30:16-30.28
	(2.0)	
Cherry:	What I mean by, I don't know if I get your question wrongly? But I thought the question is because you are a Chinese, that's why uhm, (0.5) that's why you want to make sure that your daughter is Chinese. But I am saying that, even if I am Chinese, but I grow up in a Malay environment, so it's because I really know that language and I know that culture, then that's why I want my daughter to follow the same thing. It's not so much of whether I am a Chinese or Malay but what environment I grow up in. So, probably that clarifies.	30:30 –31:05
Researcher:	Ok, so to you ethnicity is not the issue but you as a parent, what you had, you hope your child will have the same thing as you.	31:06-31:14

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Cherry:	Correct.	31:15
Researcher:	So it's like, if you happened to be a non-Chinese speaking Chinese parent, but your wish would be actually to , kind of , let your child has the same access of the resource which you can provide her.	31:16-31:30
Cherry:	Yes.	
Researcher:	Ok, got it. ((Cherry laughs)) Just wondering if you all actually read like, parenting magazines?	31:32-31:43
Cherry:	I do but	31:44-31:45
Lionel:	I don't.	31:46
Cherry:	But I read only interesting articles.	31:49-31:50
Researcher:	Did you pick up or do they actually provide articles about language development?	31:51-32:03
Cherry:	Hmm... not so much. Actually, because I read most when she is less than one year old, so at that point of time, the focus is probably more on like physical development, like breast feeding, erm nutrition and those younger set of problems. Now she is like two, I don't think the focus at two is on language yet. And I stopped reading that much, so I don't really see so much things on language. Probably at that point of time when I read, I don't really focus that much on language also.	32:07-32:50
Researcher:	Uh. But Lionel seldom read those right?	32:51-32:53
Lionel:	No.	32:54
Researcher:	Okie, so I think like among your peers who are also parents, do you actually exchange ideas about how you help your child to be socialized into two languages?	32:55-33:09
	(6.0)	
Lionel:	Hmm, I don't	
Cherry:	But for my family I do see that. Cos most of the time, as I said , I have a lot of nephews and nieces, so they are starting to go into Primary school. Then during gathering, their parents will complain, say that they have problem for Chinese lessons. So they will start like sharing, orh, they use this video or audio tapes and try to get their kids to speak more. Because my sister-in-law comes from an English speaking environment, so my brother and my sister-in-law really just speak to their kid only in English all the way. So their parents also speak to them in English. So when her eldest daughter is going into Primary one, suddenly they just switch to purely mandarin, because they realized that it will be a challenge before she goes into primary one. So we will talk about all these and some of the things that they do. But for ourselves, because we are considered, er, most of our peers are not married or have kids yet. And even if they do,	33:17– 34:45

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	they are still very young. Not till the stage like. Because, primary school is like sort of trigger stage, when people start panicking. So we don't have peers who are reaching that milestone yet. So it's making use of my family.	
	Mindy starts to sing.	34:46-34:53
Researcher:	Maybe one last question. What do you think of our national leaders, they try to encourage parents to speak more of their mother tongue to their children these days. Do you have any opinion about this?	34:54-35:10
Lionel:	I think they, they are aware of problems that new families are facing, where kids are more proficient in English than in Chinese. So, I think they are just trying to do their part in trying to balance things, in that sense lah.	35:11-35:35
Cherry:	I don't agree with some of the policies, like some of the education things that they introduce. Like teaching the kids Hanyu Pinyin first, in all the alphabets, instead of like what we used to do. I think what we used to do, I think is more appropriate. Because they are trying to cater to kids nowadays, because now they	35:36-36:00
Lionel:	They are English.	36:00-36:01
Cherry:	Yah, they are mainly English-educated. Last time we learn the hard way, and we learnt it. So even if they encourage us to speak to our kids in Chinese, I think some of their policies are like quite, like a step backwards.	36:02-36:23
Researcher:	Ok. So, in this situation, what do you think as a parent, you might do next time?	36:24-36:30
Cherry:	Next time as in?	
Researcher:	I mean, you think some of the policies are like a bit like a step backwards, I mean, can you foresee what you would do for your kid when she starts to grow nearer to the schooling age?	36:32-36:48
Cherry:	I think language is one thing that cannot be forced. It must be enjoyable, so what we can do is to provide her with the environment, encourage her to use the language, and introduce her to the language itself. Whether it is the wording or the pronunciation. So what we can do is to create the environment and we ourselves, show her that we like the language. So that she start using more. And we love to play music in the car, cos we drive, and we always rotate English and Chinese. Sometimes we will ask her to choose, and she has her own set of songs that she likes, and the whole family will sing together. I think that's a very basic starting step to encourage her. So that we will not wait until she is 6 or 7 then we panic and start to do something about it.	36:49-37:50
Researcher:	Ok. It sounds like you believe that when you start early, everything will be easier?	
Cherry:	Yup. Because personally I start English so late that I find it really hard to catch up.	38:00-38:12

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Another thing, just now I am not sure if you mentioned. When you speak to your child, do you actually mix code? You know mix code right? You speak in a mixture of English and Chinese.	38:13-38:26
Cherry:	Erm, we try not to. Means, in a particular sentence or setting, let's say one of us just decided now is Chinese speaking time, then we will really speak purely Chinese.	38:27-38:39
Lionel:	Sometimes, I will do both. I am ok with speaking a mix with her lah. Because this is our culture. If I can split these two languages easily, I am sure she can do it next time as well.	38:40-39:04
Cherry:	Are you sure you can?	
Lionel:	(Laughs)	
Cherry:	Ok, for me, I prefer if I speak to her in Mandarin, it's really Mandarin all the way. If I speak to her in English, it is English all the way. Because I don't want her to have the situation where she might accidentally mix up certain words, that she never know how is that particular word is in English or in Chinese. So she will know "Mummy", "Mother" and Ma1 ma1 (妈妈), and we will not like if we say "mummy" we will always say "mummy" regardless of whether we are speaking English or Chinese. So if I am saying it in Chinese, I make sure that I am using Ma1 ma1 妈妈, so that she can relate and will not accidentally mix up the words.	39:10-39:50
Researcher:	Ok. So both of you are (silence, implying "not holding the same view") ((Cherry laughs)) (1.0) okie it's fine. So you are saying that now, you will have a spontaneous, I decide now is Chinese time, then I will initiate a conversation in Chinese, and then the other one will collaborate, and will not like the mother is speaking in Chinese at one time and the father is still doing a mixture, or something like that?	39:53-40:16
Cherry:	Actually we didn't really talk about it lah. Most of the time, I think, the other person will just like join in in that language. Although, it is a mixture for some. ((laughs))	40:17-40:28
Researcher:	Ok, yah but Lionel has a view that mixing of code is actually part of our way of life anyway right.	40:30-40:37
Lionel:	Ya. We are not only mixing 2 language	40:38-40:43
Cherry:	((Laughs))	
Researcher:	Huh?	
Lionel:	We are not only mixing 2 languages	

Transcript 1: Interview with Cherry and Lionel.

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Cherry:	We are mixing multiple languages	
Researcher:	True. And do you give any input of this to her as well?	
Lionel:	Arh.. I think so arh?	
Cherry:	Yah, like things like “sayang “, some basic words, we do introduce to her. Because sometimes, that’s the best way to describe what we want.	40:58-41:07
Researcher:	Thank you!	

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Date of interview: 29 May 2011

Section 1: Personal Language Experiences

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	(Explained the purpose of the interview) So, perhaps you can share briefly the language you spoke as a child yourself, for example with your parents. You all can take turns.	00:01-00:36
Sharon:	I speak Chinese to my parents and I speak Hainanese, which is a Chinese dialect, to my grandparents. And for my husband, what do you speak? My husband is from Hongkong.	00:37-00:42 00:43-00:48
Warren:	广东话。	00:49
Sharon:	He speaks Cantonese at home.	00:50-00:51
Warren:	To everyone.	00:52
Sharon:	Yah everyday and everyone, from day 1. And he doesn't, ((turns to to Warren)) aei, you only learn English when arh?	00:53-00:54 00:55-00:59
Warren:	English 大概小学。普通话就是 11 岁开始。普通话，不是华语啊。	01:00-01:07
Sharon:	When did you learn English?	01:08-01:09
Warren:	什么东西？ say again.	01:09-01:11
Researcher:	When did you start learning English?	01:12-01:13
Warren:	Erm, 4 years old	01:14-01:16
Researcher:	Ok, from like kindergarten?	01:17-01:18
Sharon:	From Hongkong. Hongkong English	01:19-01:20
Researcher:	Ok. It doesn't matter which type. Just like in kindergarten lah, like schooling lah?	01:21-01:25

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Sharon:	Orh. I started learning English in K1. He started learning English in	01:26-01:32
Warren:	K1	01:33
Sharon:	You also in K1?	01:34
Warren:	(Sings) A B C D	01:35-01:37
Researcher:	Ok, ok. Sharon try not to answer for him too much. Then 整个就是她在讲了。	01:38-01:44
Sharon:	Because he is very distracted lah ((the baby was also in front of the computer))	01:45-01:46
Researcher:	Yah I know, but you can talk to your baby and talk to me also.	01:47-01:53
Warren:	Ok	01:54
Researcher:	Yah, so we will just try to get it like a chat, like a conversation flowing lor. Ok.	01:55-02:00
Researcher:	Then maybe you can also share with me right, your language norms between you and your peers in school. For example primary school, secondary school, what is the normal language that you use for conversation with your friends?	02:01-02:14
Sharon:	My friends arh. I think I speak in Mandarin most of the time. Then when I go to secondary school, English became the norm, because it was a Catholic school, even though it was a Chinese SAP school. But we speak English most of the time,	02:15-02:28
Warren:	We spoke	02:29
Sharon:	We spoke English most of the time. ((Laughs))	02:30-02:32
Researcher:	And then after that? In JC?	02:43-02:48
Sharon:	JC, I think it's a good mix of both English and Mandarin.	02:49-02:53
Researcher:	Ok, ok. And university?	02:54-02:55
Sharon:	University is Mandarin of course, because we studied in China. ((Laughs)) Oh, I studied in China.	02:56-03:00 03:01-03:04
Researcher:	Ok, can Warren share your language norms as well?	03:05-03:08
Warren:	Primary school and secondary school is primarily in Mandarin. Junior College is	03:09-03:16 03:17-03:18
Sharon:	Primary school for the first five years also in Mandarin arh? ((asking Warren))	03:19-03:24
Warren:	Wah, 不需要这样 define?	03:25

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Erm, primary school until primary 5 will be Cantonese. Primary 5 to Primary 6 will be in mandarin. Secondary school, Mandarin. JC, Mandarin and English. Then university, English.	03:26-03:39
Researcher:	Ok. Erm, I need to ask some obvious questions, because I want it to be recorded down. (Clarification)	03:40-04:00
Researcher:	Ok, then maybe you can tell me the languages that you use currently right. What languages do you speak most of the time in the following domains? Like work, social life, home, home is 2 parts, between you and your spouse, and you and your extended family. And I don't think religion applies to you all right, so just 3 portions.	04:01-04:27
Sharon:	Work will be English. Social life would be a good mix between English and Mandarin. Then at home, with our parents is Mandarin. With him (Warren), is good mix but more inclined to Mandarin.	04:28-04:50
Researcher:	Ok, what about Warren?	04:51
Warren:	In English usually, at work. Social, I think English and Mandarin. With immediate family, uhm Mandarin, extended family, arh Cantonese.	04:52-05:10
Researcher:	((interviewer tells interviewees that it is not a Q n A session, so they can say as much as they want.))	05:11-05:30

Section 2: Family Language Policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok, can you just tell us how old your daughter is? ((Video lag. Question repeated))	05:31-05:32 05:33-05:50
Sharon:	My baby is 5 months old.	05:51-05:53
Researcher:	So maybe we can understand right, did you and your spouse right, discuss about family language planning when you were expecting your child?	05:54-06:05
Sharon:	(2.0) Yah, we sort of.	06:06-06:08
Warren:	就是讲华语咯	06:09-06:10
Sharon:	Yah, we will speak to her predominantly in Mandarin. But she should also learn her dialect, which is Cantonese. Then for English, it will be erm, we will try to teach her some basic English but it should be done when she goes to pre-school.	06:11-06:34

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Baby Corrine tries to gain some attention with her voice.	
Researcher:	You were saying that, in your discussion, you all think that English will be left mainly to schools it is?	07:01-07:10
Sharon:	Yah, left mainly to schools. Because we think that the mainstream environment in Singapore is predominantly English and she won't have any problem getting schooled in English.	07:11-07:22
Researcher:	So that's the main reason for you all using predominantly Mandarin right?	07:23-07:30
Sharon:	Yah	07:31
Researcher:	Ok, so erm, what about the environment around Baby Corrine now? Can you just kind of tell me who is taking care of her and perhaps her language environment at this moment?	07:32-07:46
	((“interacted” with Baby Corrine over webcam))	
Warren:	Daytime will be in Cantonese and evening will be in Mandarin.	08:00-08:08
Researcher:	How much time does she spend with your dad every day?	08:09-08:18
Sharon:	11 hours. Like from 8am to 7pm, 11 hours a day. So she will be exposed to Cantonese for 11 hours a day. And in the evening when we come back to her, we will speak to her predominantly in Mandarin. When she bathes, she will get to listen to BBC English station.	08:19-08:43
Researcher:	So is that part of your conscious input for her, or is that your habit?	08:44-08:50
Sharon:	It's my husband's habit. So she gets to listen to BBC every night, before she sleeps, when she bathes.	08:51-08:59
Warren:	So that she can listen to and appreciate the news from the truth and not government propaganda.	09:00-09:06
Sharon:	She listens to BBC English when she was still in my womb.	09:07-09:13
Researcher:	Ok.	09:14
Sharon:	She responds quite well.	09:15-09:18
Researcher:	How do you see that she responds?	09:19-09:20
Sharon:	She just keep quiet and she will just listen intently to the radio.	09:21-09:27
Researcher:	Ok, so that's responding well?	09:28-09:30
Sharon:	Yah, when we can't speak to her, the radio will take our place.	09:31-09:37
	((Baby Corrine tries to interact with Researcher))	
Researcher:	Ok, I think you mentioned before that you kind of asked your in-laws to speak Cantonese to your child, your baby, instead of Mandarin. Could you just briefly explained why?	10:00-10:11

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Sharon:	((looks to Warren))	
Warren:	Oh, my father's command of Mandarin is horrendous.	10:16-10:18
Sharon:	((Laughs)) Yah, we cannot communicate with each other. ((Laughs))	
Warren:	Yah, so rather than speaking in a language which he is not proficient with, he might as well speak a language which he is comfortable with in the process, she can pick up	10:19-10:33
Sharon:	quality Cantonese	10:34
Warren:	quality Cantonese and not the wrong kind of English or Mandarin.	10:35-10:40
Sharon:	Yah, his dad mandarin is not, is not	10:41-10:46
Warren:	Very proficient	
Sharon:	Yah, in fact his dad's English is much better than Mandarin.	10:47-10:54
Researcher:	So for you, your belief is that the language input for your child is more of whether the language is good or not, rather than the kind of language is it?	10:56-11:08
Sharon:	Well, I guess for us, there are some basic rules on how we should school her at home, or rather communicate with her at home. It also depends on whether the speaker is proficient in the language or not. So for my parents-in-law, they speak to her predominantly in Cantonese because that's the language that they are good at. So for both of us, since I was schooled in China, I speak to her predominantly in Mandarin. And my husband's English is better, so he will sometimes speak to her in English as well. And of course, we leave the job to BBC, because they speak the best English.	11:09-11:51
Researcher:	Ok, then when you speak to your baby right, do you actually kind of mix your languages? For example, do you mix English and Chinese together?	11:52-12:11
Sharon:	Yah we do. Because, this is how Singaporeans speak.	12:13-12:15
Warren:	Unfortunately.	12:16
Sharon:	Yah unfortunately. We try to find, I mean, even between ourselves, it is really about finding what word whether in English or Chinese which express ourselves best. And sometimes, in our languages we also include some Malay, like Sayang, terok. Yah she knows Sayang. And what else does she know huh? ((Look towards Warren)) yah, she knows like "sau sau" in Cantonese, when she wants people to hug her, it's "bao bao" in Chinese. So it depends on what the caregivers can give her. Then she looks at her dad every day for apple, so she knows "apple" too. She loves apple.	12:17-12:28 12:29-13:06 13:07-13:17

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Baby Corrine reacts to the word “apple” and smiles.	

Section 3: Factors Influencing Parental Language Ideologies

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Can both of you take turns to share right, what are some of the factors which motivated your choice of language with your child? Were there any considerations and what are they?	13:24-13:48
Sharon:	<p>One is of course how the schooling system is in Singapore. We know that medium of schooling is English, so we expect that she can actually have quite a good education in English as well. But for Mandarin, she won't be able to spend as much time as we want her to in the current system. So that's why we chose to speak to her in mandarin at home. This is one. The schooling system is one.</p> <p>Then, two is of course, how we were brought up. We were brought up in an environment where we spoke our mother tongue, for him is Cantonese, for me is Mandarin. So we hope that our kids can be brought up the same way.</p> <p>And even better if she can learn some dialects because given that in Singapore we speak a lot of English, and sometimes Mandarin, dialects is also something close to our hearts, and can connect people, especially the day to day people that you see everyday.</p> <p>So these are the 2 reasons. ((To Warren)) Any other things to add?</p>	<p>13:49-14:26</p> <p>14:27-14:59</p>
Warren:	I don't want my child to be banana, so she will speak Chinese at home.	15:09-15:17
Researcher:	So to you, Chinese is a mark of ethnicity and culture?	15:18-15:21
Warren:	Yes, ethnicity and culture.	15:22
Researcher:	Could you just elaborate a bit more on your own views, like ethnicity and language, ethnicity and culture.	15:23-15:39
	((Warren carried baby Corrine))	
Warren:	Oh, ethnicity is, in a country like Singapore where the Chinese is a predominant community, it would be a shame not to be able to command a suitable level of proficiency in Chinese language.	15:49-16:06

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Uh. Reason being?	16:07
Warren:	Reason being that we are Chinese ethnic. Full stop.	16:08-16:10
Researcher:	Ok, but if this case is put into Hongkong, it will change, you will say, if this sentence is put into Hongkong situation, you will change your sentence to Cantonese.	16:11-16:28
	((Baby Corrine tries to catch attention))	16:29-17:34
Researcher:	Yah, I was asking Warren, it's a shame if a Singaporean Chinese cannot speak Chinese, because they are Chinese, that's it. So erm, given that you came from Hongkong, so if it was a Hongkong situation, you would change it to say Cantonese right?	17:36-17:52
Warren:	Uh, Yes. But language would not be a problem because Cantonese is still the dominant language in the society, so no one can have the excuse of not being able to speak the language. But the situation in Singapore is different. Chinese language is an endangered language in this country. It is endangered by the elites, English speaking elites.	17:53-18:23
Sharon:	But you speak English too	18:24
Warren:	对啊，但是有些人要阻止我们学华语，学中文 leh，这个是要不得。	18:25-18:30
Sharon:	我觉得大部分是因为对未来教育制度的前景，所以我们虽然可以选择说英文，但是我们最后还是选择了说中文。	18:31-18:45
Researcher:	Yah, could you elaborate more on that? What is your 前景?	18:46-18:47
Sharon:	前景就是说，可能未来教育制度对中文的重视可能会越来越少，然后可能在认字写字方面，小孩子可能不会像我们小时候学得那么多咯，	18:48-19:35
	((Warren goes out to bring the milk bottle in for baby Corrine))	
Researcher:	你说，因为对于教育制度的考虑。So you are just worried that the bilingual education policy, the education policy might kind of change, and it will not suit your aim, your child-rearing goals?	19:36-19:58
Sharon:	Yah, my child-rearing goal would be that I hope she can be bilingual. Not because I hope that we will be a superwoman who can speak 3 or 4 languages, but because why she needs to learn mandarin is because one is that we are Chinese in the first place, it is a cultural thing, and there's communication needs as well. And secondly, for English, of course she will get to learn because this is the predominant language and this is also the work language in Singapore. Ok, all the data documents are in English.	19:59-20:21 20:22-20:31

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	As for the rest of the dialects, it is really up to her whether she wants to pick up or not. But of course my parents-in-law are from Hong Kong, and they are so proficient in Cantonese, why not?	20:32-20:43
Researcher:	Ok, just now you mentioned about ethnicity already. What about your views on language and culture? Do you think that erm, she can only access certain culture through certain language?	20:44-20:56 20:57-21:02
Sharon:	A certain culture through certain language. I think to a huge extent, language is culture, erm language is part of culture , language is part of culture Especially for Chinese, the words are all lexicons right, so to a certain part, if you can understand the characters, you can understand the history, the story. And of course I think there's a huge erm huge archive of Chinese history etc lor.	21:03-21:42
Researcher:	What about Warren?	
Warren:	同意	
	Break. ((Warren feeds Baby Corrine, while Sharon suggested that Warren should share more opinions as he experienced a different language background as a child. Sharon shared their experience about speaking Chinese in different parts of China.))	
Researcher:	Ok, I think just now we left off from Sharon commenting on how she foresees how the bilingual education policy in Singapore will go right, and how it affects her choice of language in the home setting. So maybe you come from a different language background initially, so maybe you can tell us your views on any other factors which may have affected your current language practices with your baby.	24:34-25:07
Warren:	Because English language is such a dominant language in this country, so in other normal circumstances, there will not be any problem getting exposure to English language. So at that point, it calls for a balance of exposure to other languages, especially when as far as mother tongue is concerned. Because in schools, other than mother tongue languages, all (subjects) are taught in English. So we think that it is only right that we speak our mother tongue more to her at home, so that she will have the right exposure to both languages.	25:08-26:04
Researcher:	So it's like you have some aspirations for her in terms of bilingualism?	26:05-26:09
Warren:	My only expectation is I hope that she will not end up being a "banana".	26:10-26:15
Researcher:	You want to quantify your definition of being a "banana"?	26:16-26:20
Warren:	A "banana" is yellow on the outside and white in the inside. I hope that she will be able to converse in grammatically	26:21-27:16

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	correct English and Chinese. Her conversation need not be laden with very, with a lot of words, but it must be clear and I hope that it will be coherently in one language, without resorting to switching to another language too often	
	((Baby Corrine cries)).	
Sharon:	(continuing previous topic) 不希望她从黄变白。	
Researcher:	So that means you don't really believe that they can learn a culture from another language right?	27:46-27:53
Warren:	It is not impossible, but it will be generally less effective to learn another culture without speaking the language. And I don't just refer to Chinese language. It refers to many other cultures and languages. It is possible, but not as effective. And as far as Chinese Singaporeans are concerned, many Chinese Singaporeans in fact take pride in that they don't speak any Chinese, and play up their command of English, and their poor command of Chinese and I think that that is totally deplorable.	27:54-28:18 28:19-28:41
Researcher:	Do you get a lot of such experience around you in your current life?	28:42-28:46
Warren:	Uh yes, of course. Whenever we switch on the tv, and hear what the minister, the whole bunch of ministers say in the tv, you can get this feeling.	28:47-28:53
Researcher:	What about normal people who are not minister level, like people around you?	28:54-28:59
Warren:	Yes, like many of our bosses, many of our colleagues, especially those high flyers, or those civil servants who think that they are high flyers, so this bunch of people who we have to deal with very often, they are all very likely to have a conceiving view towards Chinese language.	29:00-29:27
Researcher:	And you feel that they actually play up their inability to speak Chinese as well?	29:28-29:34
Warren:	Yes yes, they do they do.	29:35-29:36
Researcher:	Can you just like quote an example?	29:37-29:39
Warren:	There are some people who claim that it is possible to engage in business with China, without being able to speak the language which is Chinese, which may well be the case for certain cases, but they will never be able to break through into the intricate network in the Chinese business network circle. And these people are just lying. For example, there are examples like just because they speak English, they assume, they expect that other people to be able to converse in that language for their convenience.	29:40-30:30
Sharon:	Well it's true. We do meet a lot of these people in our circle,	30:31-30:40

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	So for your case, you also meet a lot of such people?	30:41-30:47
Sharon:	Yah. I mean I work with China for business and for government work as well. It's true that the Chinese do speak English, but it doesn't mean that English is an effective communication tool. They can understand you, they can write and they can read brilliantly in an American or British English, but it doesn't mean that it is a good tool to close the gap in terms of getting to know them, working with them closely etc. Of course we both understand what each other are saying in terms of English, but to get to know them at a deeper level, it is still better to know them using their language. So for Shanghai, if you know Shanghainese, it is even better. So for Cantonese, if you know Cantonese, it is even better. So to get to know a person at an intimate level or to build that kind of relationship, it's better to use their mother tongue.	30:48-31:49
Researcher:	From such a conversation, is there like a little bit of instrumentalist factors for your language choice with your child? I mean you were talking about building relationships with erm more in the work context. So like, do you actually have some economics and instrumentalist factors for trying to let Baby Corrine learn English, Chinese and Cantonese at the same time?	31:50-32:25
Sharon:	Requested Researcher to ask the question again	
Researcher:	Because you were talking about work just now, and how both of you have some experiences in work and how language is needed to build a closer relationship with your business associates and people you encounter with in work, so I am just asking erm, perhaps is economic factors or instrumentalist like 工具性的作用?	32:30-33:01
Warren:	No. I would think there are 2 dimensions to this. The economic value of languages of course would have an impact but I think the cultural consideration would play a bigger part. But even if fundamentally, Mandarin is with totally no business value, we would think that we would still want her to learn the language solely because of cultural and ethnicity reason.	33:02-33:34
Sharon:	Another reason is because of what languages our parents speak. For my parents is Mandarin and for his case is Cantonese. So of course we hope that our kid, she would be able to communicate with the extended family, for kinship or for closeness. So it will be very sad if she keep on speaking English to my parents because they will never understand her at all. Yah that's why we want her to learn these 2 languages, Cantonese and mandarin, so that she can communicate with her grandparents. And of course, the more languages she can pick up the better, so that she can communicate with more people around her.	33:35-34:13
	So even if she is mixing all the languages up, as long as she can communicate and express herself well, that's good enough.	34:14-34:31

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	But for Warren, he wants her to be proficient in 2 languages and not mix the 2 languages up together.	
Warren:	That's the ideal situation. That's not easy.	34:32-34:34
Sharon:	Yah, that's not easy. But for me, the most important is as long as she can communicate well. So as long as she can express herself well and people can understand her, that's good enough. And one important thing is to maintain kinship in the family, she needs to be able to communicate with the grandparents. Yah, it will be very sad if she just go on and on talking about things that they don't understand. And my dad's English is only the Bangladesh worker's English lah, and it's very different because they understand him, but they don't understand us. Because they also don't speak in complete sentences. (Laughs)	34:35-34:57 34:58-35:13
Researcher:	True.	35:14
Sharon:	So that's call communication. As long as people understand you, you have communicated.	35:14-35:26
Researcher:	So, you have expressed your belief that your child should be , I mean, children are able to pick up as many languages as possible, if given	35:27-35:39
Sharon:	The choice and the environment	35:40-35:41
Researcher:	So you do not think that one language will definitely be dominant, as in how should I say? That means, learning one language will definitely lead to, the other language will suffer. You don't really believe in that right?	35:42-35:58
Sharon:	We don't. We believe that she should be exposed to as many languages as she can, at a young age. Because, once she enters school, she will be carved and mould in a way that, because Singapore's dominant language is English, so she will actually have a dominant language by then. So what we can do, the factors that we can control, she should be exposed to a variety of languages from young. And by schooling age, which is about 5, then she can be cast and mould like just all the Singaporean kids are, you know, speak English most of the time, because that is required. The expectation of the society has taught you to speak English.	35:59-36:04 36:05-36:29 36:30-36:52

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. By doing this, do you think that you will be putting your child to kind of an advantage?	36:53-37:00
Sharon:	Advantage of what? Chinese speaking is not seen as an advantage in Singapore, so I don't think it is an advantage. ((Laughs))	37:01-37:11
Researcher:	Yah the advantage is up to you to decide. I am just throwing out a possibility to explore what you might be thinking.	37:12-37:19
Warren:	I think it is an advantage because she will be able to communicate in a language which many Chinese Singaporeans will have difficulty communicating in.	37:20-37:30
	Break ((Baby Corrine finished her milk.))	
Warren:	(continue with comment) Ok, because we expose her to Mandarin but we are not neglecting English language altogether. Occasionally, we speak in English and we will let her listen to BBC World service, where the English level and the diction are accurate. That is in my opinion, a better way to pick up standard English than the way many Chinese Singaporeans converse in English, which will do their kids a disfavoured, by speaking in those kind of erm, unorthodox language.	38:48-39:36
Sharon:	(quote example) I beat beat you. Pink colour	39:37-39:50
Warren:	((explain the errors))	
Sharon:	Yah, actually a lot of nursery rhymes are in English, so she will be exposed to English anyway. So to us, the environment is in English, she will be exposed to English anyway, so we should try to do our part to expose her to more Mandarin sources, be it from our own communication between both of us and with her, and subsequently if she likes to read Chinese books, we will eventually expose her to that as well.	39:51-40:20
Researcher:	Will your belief kind of affect your choice for schools or pre-schools for her next time?	40:50-40:56
Warren:	Nope.	
Sharon:	Not really. Because in Singapore, the standard of schools is actually quite even throughout the system. I mean the policy is implemented throughout all schools. Of course there are different standards, the standards of schools do vary, but it won't affect our choices lah.	40:57-41:18
Researcher:	Like as in the language, maybe the language environment is not going to affect your choices?	41:19-41:22
Sharon:	(2.0) No. Because we believe that no matter which school you go to, even if they claim that they offer a bilingual programme, okay, my secondary school is also a SAP school, so called Special Assistance Plan school, which they claim that the students there have a higher calibre in learning Chinese, we still end up speaking a lot of English. So in a way, the predominancy of English is existent throughout the education system in Singapore.	41:23-42:00

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	So the family environment is also very important too. So in a way, we are trying to control 2 factors, I would say. The English is taken care of by the school, that one we are quite safe and clear. But her Chinese, we should school her at home lah, in a way. Because we think that the Singapore schools can't take care of that very well.	42:00-42:31
Researcher:	Why do you think so?	42:32
Sharon:	Because the standard of Chinese is dropping throughout us, on the basis that there are a lot more English speaking families in Singapore. But I mean if you look around you, people still do speak Mandarin, it's just that they don't speak very well. The language that they speak is limited to the pasar Chinese type, erm "have you eaten?", "how's the day?", "have you gone to the doctor?" etc. But if you want them to express higher level meanings, or let's say do a presentation, or to convene a meeting, most Singaporeans will find it difficult to do so. Unless they have worked with China or say have worked in Chinese context. And then they would have gone through the baptism of fire and would have picked up the skills of how. Some do it better than others but some just find it difficult.	42:33-43:33
Researcher:	So your aspiration for Baby Corrine is that she will be kind of able to reach that level in Mandarin as well?	43:34-43:43
Sharon:	We hope. But I mean if she can't, due to erm consoles of factors, the basic aspiration for her is for her to communicate well. Yah, so that people understands what she wants or needs.	43:44-44:00
Researcher:	Anymore to add, Warren?	44:01-44:03
Warren:	Arh, nothing. I totally agree with what Sharon has communicated to you.	44:04-44:18
Researcher:	((explained that he can add on other points)) Yah, you can add anything else which we have not covered, anything that comes to your mind.	44:20-44:37
Warren:	I think we have covered most of what we want to express. We hope that she will be able have meaningful conversations with others in both English and Chinese. That will be good enough.	44:39-44:51
Sharon:	Yah, meaningful language, meaningful conversations in both languages. And if she can, pasar Cantonese, that would be very good. And of course the rationale is of course not that she can run a successful business in China because of her expertise in Chinese but rather it's one of communication lah, so that she can communicate well.	44:52-45:00 45:00-45:29
Researcher:	Sometime ago right, beginning of this year and end of last year, our national leaders have some kind of discourse, to	45:30-45:09

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	encourage parents to speak more of their mother tongue to their children lah.	
Sharon:	((Laughs)) What's that?	46:10
Researcher:	Like LKY (Lee Kuan Yew) asking people to speak more Mandarin to their children	46:11-46:15
Warren:	他说应该多讲母语，然后随着小孩子读书的年龄提高，就多讲英文。((Explained the news to Sharon))	46:16-46:39
Researcher:	Yah you caught the news right?	46:40-46:41
Warren:	Yes I read that article	46:42-46:44
Researcher:	Any comments about it?	46:45-46:46
Warren:	Well, I supposed the intent meant well but unfortunately I guess it would be a challenge to encourage Chinese Singaporeans to adopt that kind of speaking habit. Because many of the parents themselves already have difficulty communicating in anything other than very basic Mandarin. So it will be naive to expect them to converse in Mandarin at home with their children.	46:47-47:26
Sharon:	Actually I disagree you know. As in a lot of Singaporeans are themselves, are more proficient in Chinese, when it comes to home communication right, I mean you know, you don't touch very difficult topics. The conversations are limited to "have you had your lunch", "have you slept?", "have you taken a nap?". You don't discuss topics like "what do you think of the situation in Egypt?" You know, "对于中东局势，你有什么看法?" You know, these are not day to day conversations that you hear at home.	47:27-48:09
	So, actually a lot of Singaporeans choose, choose to speak to their kids in English, rather than Mandarin, because of the conceived advantage that they think their kids will get when they go up to mainstream schooling. And a lot of subjects are taught in English, instead of Mandarin. So it's a matter of choice, it's not a matter of ability.	48:10-48:43
	So if you look around us, a lot of people, I mean of course not the elites, but the people around us, like our neighbours etc, a lot of them are actually more proficient in Chinese rather than English.	48:44-48:59
	So for us, our case is, if we have a certain kind of strength in a certain language, we try to impart or influence our daughter in that direction. We base it on our proficiency and routine. If we can't speak it well, then we try not to talk to her in that, for example my father-in-law ok. So he also tried to talk to her in Chinese, thinking that she will get mixed up between Cantonese and Mandarin. But after a while, we told him look, if you can't speak Mandarin well, why not you just stick to	49:00-49:46

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Cantonese? Your granddaughter will still understand you. Because we are not talking about very complex situation at home and home conversations do not need such complex vocabulary.	
Warren:	((said that he second Sharon's comments))	
Sharon:	Yah I think it is actually a matter of choice because Singaporeans are actually quite pragmatic in a way. If you came out of the system thinking that your English is better than your Chinese, and actually you don't have that good a command of Chinese, most Singaporeans will actually opt to speak English at home to their kids.	49:59-50:20
	There's no doubt that most people do think that their English is better than their Chinese, although their command of Chinese may be better.	50:20-50:30
Researcher:	Any last words?	
Warren:	Nope	
Sharon:	(Added comments on nation leaders' discourse) 我个人觉得这个说读写是一个很大的问题。虽然我知道是引进中国的系统，但是，我总觉得中国提倡说读写，它是，它的国情有点不太一样。他们有百分之七十的农村人口，然后大家南腔北调。所以大家为了推广普通话的使用，它一定要你说和读为主，你写不写，你作为农民，你差不多会签你的名就够了吧，这样。所以它整个动力就来自于普通话的使用和推广。不过新加坡作为一个多语言的环境之下，说读写这个把它编入政策的一个方向的话，我就觉得有点不太实用咯。那这样子，我们很多小孩子他只会说，和读，然后写就变成很次要的一样东西。那你不会写的时候，你对于整个语言的一个欣赏慢慢地降低。那你的孩子就不能够更深层次地去了解这个语言，他也不能建立更多的词汇，也就只能建立一些很简单的会话技巧。	50:50-52:30
Researcher:	所以你觉得，写是让你的孩子的语言能力再往更进一步提升的一个方式？	52:31-52:40
Sharon:	对。如果是说的话，其实很多家庭都能够办到说。那我不会教他说“你怎么下台啊？”，“你对穆巴拉克下台有什么看法？”。你在家不会说这些东西。但是我觉得写始终是一个不可或缺的一部分，而且应该是学校应该重视的一部分。因为如果说，如果我一天花 8 个小时在学校，她不学写，回到家我还得让她学写，那就已经把整个学习的一种乐趣剥夺掉了。因为我可以跟她说很多东西啊。我可以跟她说故事，我可以跟她讲儿歌，那从中她的说也已经，不管是中文还是英文啦，都可以被照料到。我们都可以照料到她这方面的一种需要。但是如果说写的话，	52:41-53:44

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	在家里学写是比较困难的。	
Researcher:	所以 actually 对你来讲, bilingualism 其实还包括 biliteracy 这一块对吧? 不单只是止于对话, 还包括读写。而你其实本身也比较重视写的能力?	53:45-54:04
Sharon:	当然啊, 也很重视写的能力。当然以她的年纪来讲, 我们也不可能要求她写啊。对吗? 6个月而已。但是, 以后在她求学的过程当中, 比如可能说三、四岁啊, 这样子, 写的能力也是很重要的。尤其, 英文写不写, 我觉得是说, 你可能多看多读, 你就会有比较基本的书写能力。但是中文你一定要常写, 你才会记得那个词汇啊。当然现在可以打字啦, 但是打字不是一个很好的替代。	54:05-54:50
Researcher:	Ok, very nice inputs. Thank you.	54:51-54:55
Sharon:	You are welcome. 我是这样觉得咯。写还是应该要学校为主啊。因为如果学校都不肯去面对一个大家都不喜欢做的东西, 然后又把这个责任丢回给家庭的话, 那么在家庭里面, 她从学校回来应该有一个放松的空间嘛, 那跟她去玩啊, 跟她去唱歌啊, 跟她去做那些比较有趣的东西, 我觉得是家庭可以替代的。如果我在家里, 我还要督促她“你给我写, 写, 写六百个字”, 这样子我就会完全剥夺掉她一种, 一种乐趣啊。因为即使是说读写, 她在班上不说不读不写也可以这样度过一天的嘛。尤其一个班这么多人。	54:56-55:53
Researcher:	所以你觉得在课堂上, 识字识写的部分应该有一定的比例?	55:54-56:01
Sharon:	我觉得很重要啊。我觉得新加坡跟中国国情不一样。如果要像中国这样说读写照搬, 它整个政策背后的一个动力的话, 不太适用咯。 然后我又觉得很奇怪, 即使每个人尽量让他的孩子在家里说中文, 然后去到学校又多说英文, 那你是建立在一个, 你是假设新加坡所有的父母的中英文能力都很强? 能够左右孩子的语文能力和喜好? 我觉得这样子的要求, 可能对百分之二十的家庭, 就是比较受过良好的, 大家都受过良好的教育啦, 就是可能说语文能力比较强, 对双语都比较有能力的。这样的家庭, 它可能就比较有能力去辅导他的孩子。但是很多家庭, 它可能就是中文比较好啊, 或者是英文比较好啊。它就可能没有办法给孩子一个双语的环境。	56:02-56:56 56:57-57:22

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	我可能现在百分之八十跟她说中文，但是一定会参杂一些英文啊，广东话啊，马来话啊，这样子。其实她对 BBC 的反应可能还比对我跟她讲话的反应还大一点。	
Researcher:	Ok, thank you.	58:37
Warren:	(After recording stopped for a while, Warren decided to add something else.) 要要求她讲广东话，是不切实际的。所以与其让她变成一个只会讲英文的香蕉人，那退而求次，就先给她学英文还有华语，然后广东话还有其它方言为其次啦。	58:38-58:56
Sharon:	所以我觉得 communication 其实是最重要的。沟通是最重要的。其实不是说说英文、说中文、或者是怎么样。好像新加坡很多时候考虑语言政策还是家庭语言的时候，太现实了。其实很多时候是沟通。	58:57-59:15
Warren:	对。所以我是对教育厅的态度非常的失望的。学中文或者是任何语言，不是因为那个语言有经济价值，而是因为我们是那个族群的人。对吗？不是说中国有生意做，那咱们就一起去学中文。那这样不大对嘛。如果改天只有巴西有生意机会，那我们不是全部要学葡萄牙语吗？	59:16-59:56
Sharon:	没有，我们还可以说英语。	59:57-59:59
Warren:	这是太过功利了。((Comments on minister))	1:00:00 – 1:00:13
Sharon:	我觉得语言是一个活用的语言咯。英语为什么会这么广泛被使用是因为它吸纳了很多语言的元素。((Comments on this with examples from French)) 所以很多东西是活学活用咯，不是说没有经济价值就不学。可能他学到以后，他可以跟其他人沟通。那如果我可以学这个语言，那为什么我不要教我的孩子学这个语言？我不能剥夺他学这个语言的能力。况且教育制度已经把这个语言给撇开了，它的重要性给撇开了。那么作为父母的，我就更需要去给她学这个语言的能力。好不好是另外一回事。但是至少在我的家里，她能够说这个语言。	1:00:14- 1:00:40 1:00:41- 1:01:26
Researcher:	Thank you !	

Transcript 2: Interview with Warren and Sharon

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Date of interview: 17 June 2011

Section 1: Personal Language Experiences

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Perhaps you can share briefly the language you spoke as a child yourself. So, we can start with either of you first.	00:01-00:10
Janet:	Sorry, it's a bit lagging. Language as a child?	
Researcher:	Yah	
Harold:	Ok, for me, I speak English with my parents. Chinese or Hainanese with my granny who was my main caretaker. Yah these 3 languages	00:23-00:35
Researcher:	Ok, then what about Janet?	00:35-00:38
Janet:	Ok. Because my parents were Chinese educated, so we spoke mainly Chinese. Also because at that time, the government didn't encourage us to speak dialect, so predominantly it is Chinese.	00:39-00:56
Researcher:	Uh huh. Then maybe you can also share with us what are your language norms between you and your peers in school?	00:57-01:09
Harold:	Erm, in school I think it will mainly be Chinese, most of the time.	01:10-01:15
Researcher:	From primary onwards?	01:16-01:18
Harold:	Yes, I would say from primary onwards until JC (Junior College). And even university I guess. Like between friends. Unless discussing school work. Then we will be using Chinese.	01:19-01:33
Researcher:	So discussing school work also mainly using Chinese?	01:34-01:35
Harold:	Ah no, no. If school work, then we will veer more to English, because we understand all the... In university, all the terms are learned in English, so school work is more English-based.	01:36-01:48
Researcher:	Ok, ok. What about Janet?	01:49-01:51
Janet:	Uhm I think it will be the same for me because at that time, at primary and secondary school, I attended mainly Chinese-	01:52-02:23

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	medium, erm Chinese background schools. So predominantly we also communicated in Chinese. Then in university, of course we got, the usual project work and all that, other than, casual conversations, most of the time, normally in Mandarin. Unless they cannot speak very well.	
Researcher:	Ok, when you say “Chinese educate background schools”, you are referring mainly to SAP primary and SAP secondary schools right?	02:24-02:32
Janet:	yah	02:33
Researcher:	Mind sharing what schools did you attend?	02:34-02:36
Janet:	Ok, my primary school was a neighbourhood school, I forgot, called Nan Qiao Primary, it converted to a SAP school I think. Then erm, my secondary school is Anglican High	02:37-02:51
Researcher:	Ok, ok.	02:52
Harold:	Then for me, erm, Opera Estate was my primary school. Then secondary school was also Anglican High.	02:53-03:00
Researcher:	I see. What about currently? What languages do you speak most of the time in the following domains? First one is work, second one is your social life, and third one is home. Erm, home, between family members and between spouses.	03:01-03:21
Harold:	Erm ok, for work, these days I speak a lot of Chinese because uhm, for my company vendors, they are mainly Chinese vendors. So predominantly, I speak Chinese a lot. My boss is also Chinese, as in PRC. So yah, we speak a lot of Chinese at work.	03:22-03:41
	Then for home, Janet with her I speak Chinese generally, but I speak English with my parents because they are English-educated. Then for my girl, I speak more English because we took a conscious decision that I speak English, while Janet speak Chinese with her. So that she is exposed to the two different languages.	03:42-04:08
	And then with friends, I think we revert back to Chinese again.	04:09-04:14
Researcher:	What about Janet?	04:15
Janet:	((In a separate audio clip, while introducing herself and job scope, Janet had mentioned that she speaks mainly Mandarin at work because her job portfolio requires her to deal with mainly China clients.))	
	Now mainly Mandarin. Then at home, with my in-laws, actually also mainly in Mandarin. Then with my parents, also in	04:16-04:30

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Mandarin.	

Section 2: Family Language Policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Janet:	Then with her (Geraldine), it's a mix lah but predominantly Mandarin. I remember before, although I was supposed to speak Mandarin with her, but in the first year, we tended to speak more of English. So for the past few months we make an effort to speak with her more in Mandarin, to force her to, not force lah, but to deliberately let her pick up the language better.	04:31-04:57
Researcher:	Has she started speaking?	04:58-04:59
Janet/Harold:	Yes, yes.	05:00
Janet:	A bit. She's 21 months now, so she has been able to start converse, converse, since she turned 1 year old, but mainly in English. So when I speak to her in Mandarin, her reply will be in English.	05:01-05:20
Researcher:	Oh, ok. Who's her main caretaker actually?	05:21-05:25
Janet:	Erm, it will be Harold's mum.	05:26-05:27
Researcher:	Oh ok. So are you all living together?	05:28-05:29
Janet:	Not really. We live nearby and she takes care of Geraldine. She comes to our house in the daytime.	05:30-05:39
Researcher:	Confirmed with couple, the child's name.	
Researcher:	So, for Geraldine, most of the time, she spends with her grandmother, as in Harold's mum?	05:55-06:00
Janet/Harold:	Yes, yah.	06:01-06:03
Researcher:	And your mum will be speaking English to her?	06:04-06:07
Harold:	Erm, in fact, initially she speaks English to her but my mum is also very conscious of the fact that her Chinese is not very good, so she also try to speak Mandarin to her lah, yah, she tries to.	06:08-06:27
Researcher:	As in your mum is conscious her own Chinese is not very good or?	06:28-06:30
Harold:	No no. As in Geraldine's Chinese is not very good, she can't speak Chinese ((laughs))	06:31-06:34
Janet:	((Laughs)) Because I never speak to her as much as I should, in the first year. Trying to add in some Chinese in her daily	06:35-06:46

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	conversation as well.	
Researcher:	So you are saying for the first year?	06:46-06:47
Janet:	Yah, I mean I spoke a lot of English to her in the first year (recording unclear) , so I speak to her in Mandarin	06:48-06:58
Researcher:	Sorry, because there's a bit of lag, so I tend to like mis-hear some things.	06:59-07:04
Harold:	Actually what we are saying is that my mum, she tries to speak , she tries to use a bit of Chinese when she converse with Geraldine, because she feels that her Mandarin is not good.	07:05-07:21

Section 3: Factors Influencing Parental Language Ideologies

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. You said that actually you all decided consciously that Harold will be doing more English and Janet will be doing more Chinese with Geraldine right? So what is your discussion like? Do you all remember? Why do you make that decision?	07:22-07:33 07:33-07:38
Janet:	I guess because my spoken Mandarin is better, my diction and all that. And also because (recording not clear)	07:39-07:59
Researcher:	So, as in, the decision to speak both languages at home, erm, instead of just one language at home, is there any motivation for it?	08:00-08:10
Janet:	I guess because we live in a , because Singapore is a multi-cultural and multi-language, and we use both languages on a daily basis, so I think it is quite natural to expose her to two languages from young.	08:11-08:30
Researcher:	So you were saying that this was initially planned already before G was born?	08:31-08:40
Harold:	I would say, when before she was born, erm	08:41-08:47
Janet:	At that time we have not talked to her ((laughs))	08:48-08:53
Researcher:	And when was your, you said that initially Janet was also speaking more English to Geraldine, so when did you realised something that you changed your habits?	08:54-09:07
Janet:	Erm, when she started to be able to converse a little, and we realised that all her replies were in English, and she spoke Mandarin in a, she sounded quite funny. So we made a more conscious effort. Or at least I made a more conscious effort to speak to her in Mandarin.	09:08-09:30

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok, ok. Why then? What triggered you, that you think you should speak more Mandarin with her then?	09:30-09:38
Janet:	One thing is also because we are going to send her to school January next year, so we wanted her to not feel so erm lost, in Chinese class. And also secondly, because I consider myself to be quite good in Mandarin, I think I am above average. So I didn't want her to be just monolingual. I mean, if this is my strength, I should also, you know, teach her.	09:39-10:15
Researcher:	Ok, ok. So currently, it is still Harold's mum taking care of her right?	10:16-10:22
XW/HW	((Nod))	10:23
Researcher:	So, you plan to send her to a school from next January onwards. Have you chosen a school?	10:24-10:30
Janet:	Yes, it's a three-year-old ((recording not clear)) in early December.	10:31-10:38
Researcher:	So, were you all considering their languages classes and the environment as well when you were making the choices for school?	10:39-10:48
Janet:	Erm, yes we do. But it seems that, ok, because the Chinese content for her in school every day is about 20 minute, is er , erm, at the beginning, we did think of sending her to another kindergarten, where it covers, erm, the weightage between Chinese and English is 70(%), 30(%), meaning 70% of it is in Chinese. Erm but we just know someone in this school, so we just thought that let's give this school a try. Then on our end, we just got to maintain our effort to teach her, to make up for certain aspects.	10:49-11:01 11:02-11:14 11:15-11:32
	Video lagging. Disconnected and a new video call was made.	11:33-11:50
Researcher:	Maybe erm, you are saying that erm, because Janet says that you think that your Chinese is above average, so you hope that erm, you will be able to pass on this kind of advantage to your daughter. Well, could you think of some other factors which might have influenced your choice of language with your child?	11:51-12:15
	(4.0)	12:16-12:20
Researcher:	Besides passing on your own advantage, what other things might you have considered?	12:20-12:24
Janet:	Oh ok. Erm, I think erm, also because we are Chinese, and there are a lot of people who are speaking in Chinese now, in Mandarin. So erm, I guess it is something very natural. And I think, there's actually also a lot of children now who get so exposed to English, and that they really require a lot of help in Chinese. So, since we both speak both languages, so it just comes out quite naturally right, so we never intended to teach her and stop at one language.	12:25-13:03

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Harold:	I think partly is also because children are opaque to languages very fast so at a young age if you expose them to the languages, they can pick it up very naturally.	13:04-13:17
Researcher:	Where did this idea come from?	13:18-13:20
Harold:	Because I have some friends, they studied erm postgrad in education, so I actually read some of their notes, kind of thing. So it's saying that, children you know, they actually pick up language at the, urm	13:21-13:41
Janet:	It's the best time for them to learn	13:42-13:44
Harold:	Yes	13:44
Janet:	Actually I think it is also quite widely publicized, there are a lot of thinking, a lot of articles.	13:45-13:53
Researcher:	So, you all actually read a lot of information to prepare for parenthood?	13:54-13:58
Harold:	It was more incidental than purposeful because I just chanced upon it	13:59-14:12
Janet:	And for myself, I think erm, because I read articles like that you know, papers and all that, but many years ago as well. But between these years, it has been pretty well-covered as well, so it's just sort of I knew it even before parenthood.	14:13-14:28
Researcher:	Uh huh. So it is like you believe that, your child, as long as they are exposed to the languages, it should be quite easy for them to pick it up right?	14:29-14:39
Janet:	Oh yah, and I forgot to add, because when I was young, my mum, she spoke Cantonese. But we didn't speak Cantonese at home. So when I erm, you know, my cousins, they spoke Cantonese. So I just felt that, as I grew up , you know they are all conversant in Cantonese but not for me. So I just find that it is actually quite a waste, cos I could have known more languages. So I know that, you know, the younger you speak to them, the easier they learn.	14:40-15:13
Researcher:	Ok, so it's like more based on your personal experiences as well.	15:14-15:18
Janet:	Yes	15:19
Researcher:	So did Harold think of speaking a little Hainanese to your child as well? I mean you are Hainanese speaking right?	15:20-15:24
Harold:	I will say, I do encourage my mum to speak more to her in Hainanese but she can, so I think my mum also speak a smattering of Hainanese to her, a bit here and there. But I guess it won't be like sentences but more of nouns or you know that kind of thing that she is exposed to daily.	15:25-15:47
Researcher:	So, how did you encourage your mum to do it actually?	15:48-15:50
Harold:	Oh, more reminding you know. Like you can speak Hainanese to her, we think that she is quite comfortable, quite good already in English, I think her language skills are quite good, especially in English, so I think we see more of a need to	15:51-16:14

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	brush up a bit in other areas, the other languages.	
Researcher:	Do you think that maybe her future education which she will undergo, has kind of affected your decision to actually expose her to both languages?	16:15-16:32
Harold:	Erm, for me I would say (0.5) yes, because I mean, realistically speaking, we still need to study, I mean, we do have a second language requirement in school, so I guess I also don't want her to suffer next time, erm erm because of her lack of exposure to Chinese.	16:33-16:55
Researcher:	What about Janet?	16:56
Janet:	Future education, erm yes yes. Erm, because there will be a lot of mandarin in school and all there, so it is something that I want her to be at least at ease. And also we are Chinese ((excitedly)), of course we have to speak a lot of Mandarin! ((Laughs))	16:57-17:12 17:13-17:20
Researcher:	Erm, you just mentioned "because we are Chinese", so for you ethnicity and language is kind of like going hand in hand?	17:21-17:27
Janet:	Yes, and especially also because there are a lot of Chinese children you know, who don't really know, who can't really speak well, it's something that shouldn't be lost.	17:28-17:44
Researcher:	You kind of have made an observation about it?	17:45-17:48
Janet:	Erm, yah. Yah, because I see a lot of friends among me, all of them, they are speaking English, and I see like er like, tuition centres offering a lot of tuition even to like nursery kids. So, I mean, English is like so widely used, it is also the main language in Singapore, so yah.	17:49-18:15
Researcher:	What about Harold? What's your view on ethnicity or language?	18:16-18:20
Harold:	I guess, for me, it's not that much a strong reason. I think personally it would be more of the fact that Janet's parents are speaking Mandarin, so if she can't speak Mandarin, then she can't communicate effectively with them lah also. Which I think is pretty important, because from young I spoke Hainanese, and I think in that sense there was more connection with my grandma through the language. Because though she does speak Chinese, but I think her first language was Hainanese. So I think it's good to pick up Mandarin from that perspective, rather than to say that Chinese must speak Mandarin.	18:21-19:12
Researcher:	Ok, ok. So for Harold it's more of like a communication need, while Janet will add on to this, thinking that it is also like a kind of identity thing.	19:13-19:27

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Janet:	Yah, identity. It's more of like, it's kind of a waste, not say a waste lah but yah, I think a lot of Chinese they can't speak well, and I think we shouldn't lose this field.	19:28-19:43
Researcher:	Ok, so you hope that your child will not be the one who's not speaking well.	19:44-19:48
Janet:	Yes, yes.	19:49
Researcher:	Ok, other than that, do you think that you might have some consideration, like that knowing Chinese might give some advantageous as well?	19:50-20:04
Janet:	(1.5) Yes, yes. To me, you know, Chinese is like becoming a super power, I mean it is a super power, and you know, the focus will be on China next time. So even foreigners they start to learn Mandarin, so why not? I mean, Ok, there was a personal incident as well. Because last time when I was working in exhibition, there's a Caucasian. He came to me, and he spoke to me in perfect Mandarin, with the Beijing accent. And he was able to use nouns and terms, which I couldn't even match up to him. And I just felt so inadequate. So yah, that was quite a big impact on me. Yah.	20:05-20:23 20:23-20:49
Researcher:	Ok. What about Harold ?	20:50-20:52
Harold:	Erm (5.0), what was the question?	20:53-21:05
Janet:	Any other advantages for speaking Mandarin?	21:06-21:07
Harold:	I guess, personally, it's not really Mandarin. It's more like languages are a life-skill, so the more languages you pick up, the more advantageous it is. So it's not strictly Mandarin. It's more the fact like, we can speak Mandarin. So naturally, besides English, the next language will be Mandarin. So, as I mentioned before, I even encourage her to speak Hainanese, so the languages that we are more associated with, we try to expose her to it. So it's not just Mandarin that's the most important one to me.	21:08-21:52
Researcher:	So for you, you will probably encourage Geraldine to take up other languages as well, next time?	21:53-21:59
Harold:	Yah. Yah, I would.	22:00-22:01
Researcher:	Do you speak other languages yourself?	22:02-22:04
Harold:	Uh, no. ((Laughs)). I did think of trying to learn French, because I work in a French bank but yah I didn't managed to speak it.	22:05-22:17
Researcher:	What about Janet?	22:17-22:19
Janet:	Not quite. I can understand some Cantonese, but I don't have the guts to speak it. ((laughs))	22:20-22:27

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	((Laughs)) Why no guts to speak it or to try it?	22:28-22:35
Janet:	Ok, because I don't have the chance to practice it. I just listen to my folks speaking it when I was young and I was sort of like not encouraged to use it. And I only start to pick it up more when I was in secondary school, by then it is already too late, I find it difficult to speak it out confidently.	22:36-23:00
Researcher:	Er, do you actually discuss this language issues with your fellow peers who are also parents, or maybe like with your relatives?	23:01-23:11
Janet:	I do discuss with my peers, because I have a couple of close friends who have kids about the same age as Geraldine, like about 2 odd years old. But for them, it is predominantly (1.0) English.	23:12-23:31
Researcher:	What do you all discuss about?	23:31-23:33
Janet:	Because we used to send our kids to some weekend enrichment courses last time, and so we were just discussing about the use of language at home. So they were saying like, oh their kids, they are dominant in English because they always speak English. I think it's a bit, I would guess lah, that they would like to encourage them to speak more other languages, but still it's a bit difficult. Yup, same as Geraldine, they would like to also reply in English.	23:34-24:04
Researcher:	Er, you have sent Geraldine to some enrichment class right, previously?	24:05-24:09
Janet:	Yah.	24:10
Researcher:	Mind sharing?	24:11
Janet:	We used to send her just for 6 months, then we just stopped.	24:12-24:18
Researcher:	What kind of classes are those?	24:19-24:20
Janet:	Erm, some, what kind of class is it ((to Harold))	24:21-24:25
Harold:	Erm, some what brain arh...	24:26-24:27
Janet:	Erm, left right brain training. Just a one hour each week. But the main reason we sent her was, my two friends, they are sending their sons, so I just thought that Geraldine can go to somewhere and meet the kids regularly, so that she can get exposed to kids of the same age. That was the main reason.	24:28-24:59
Researcher:	Currently is she enrolled in other such classes which provide her with chances of socialising?	25:00-25:05
Janet:	No, no. Because, I think to be frank, when we first sent her, I think she was 9 months, which was a bit too young. And we just thought that she was actually picking up things outside the class more than in the class. Or rather, what she learnt in the class, the benefits were not apparent. So we just decided to stop it.	25:06-25:30

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. She was picking up things like, habits from other children or something like that?	25:31-25:35
Janet:	No no. Not so much of the habits lah. Cos I think my mother-in-law, she teaches her quite well. We feel that she learns much more things, so we don't need to send her to the class or anything.	25:36-25:48
Researcher:	What about Harold? You said that you have friends that shared articles with you. Besides that, do you have friends who are also parents and have such discussions as well?	25:49-26:02
Harold:	Erm for me, my friends, not many have children. There are a few who are starting to have but they are just like 3 months old, and one who has just given birth, so yah.	26:03-26:29
Researcher:	What do you think of bilingualism? Do you think that languages that children acquire might be in competition with each other?	26:30-26:46
	(4.0)	26:47-26:51
Harold:	Emm, personally I would say it's more the environment. I guess in Singapore, well it's just my opinion, I guess in Singapore, it's true to a certain aspect because people don't make an effort to speak in pure English or pure Chinese. They mix and match the language as they deem convenient, so I would say yes, there's some kind of contention, based on like if I don't know the Chinese term for something, I would just substitute it with the English one which comes more naturally. So yes, there is a contention and perhaps an impediment to improving your language skills to either language.	26:52-27:43
Researcher:	Erm ok, what about Janet?	27:44-27:46
Janet:	For me, I don't find that they will, what you call that, clash with each other. Because, like he said, it's the environment. But there are cases where people can speak very good English and very good Mandarin, without mixing them together. It just happened that in Singapore, Singlish is so widely used that it just becomes very convenient. But you know in a formal environment, the person have to make a conscious effort, and it will be fine. You know, like they won't mix with each other.	27:47-28:22
Researcher:	So, you all having put some efforts in creating the environment for your child right, so what actually is your child-rearing goal for Geraldine? Like in terms of bilingualism?	28:23-28:39
Janet:	Child-rearing goal?	28:40-28:41
Researcher:	Yah, if you have. I mean, you can say that you have actually made some kind of conscious effort right?	28:42-28:47
Janet:	Yes. The short term goal is, I mean, for me is definitely to encourage her and to get her to reply in Mandarin. Well, I won't say that it's working yet, but I can say that she is starting to use Mandarin more naturally.	28:48-29:10

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Sometimes when I speak to her, she doesn't seem to understand but erm, now I think she seems to understand much better.	29:11-29:19
	In the long term, I hope that she will be able to, I won't say master the two languages but I think there should be at least an adequate level for her to communicate properly, not just socially but also at work or at school next time	29:20-29:44
Researcher:	What about Harold?	29:45
Harold:	Ok, for me I guess it's more for her to be conversant in the language, being able to speak it confidently lah, and use it at work as well as school.	29:46-29:59
Researcher:	Is Harold also a confident speaker of Mandarin yourself?	30:00-30:05
Harold:	I guess I am okay. I would say that my degree of Mandarin is not bad	30:06-30:13
Janet:	For a Singaporean.	30:14
All	((Laughs))	30:15-
Researcher:	Ok, I guess you come from Anglican, so I supposed it should be quite good lah.	30:27
Harold:	A bit okay lah. Personally, growing up there, I identify more with English, I felt more comfortable with English. As it is my first language, as opposed to Chinese.	30:28-30:49
Researcher:	So currently you also still identify more with English?	30:50-30:52
Harold:	I guess now, because I do speak a lot of Chinese at work, so I would say probably half-half, probably equalized already.	30:53-31:06
Researcher:	((laughs)) Erm, so have you actually heard of our national leaders trying to encourage parents to use mother tongue at home? I am not sure if you have caught these news last time? Like one or two years back?	31:07-31:30
Janet:	There were some, okay, I just remember there were some "Speak " ((looks at Harold, to confirm)) , (3.0)	31:31-31:40
Harold:	Speak Mandarin?	31:41
Janet:	Yah, I think there was some Speak Mandarin Campaign as well? I vaguely remember?	31:42-31:47
Researcher:	((laughs)) It's okay. ((laughs))	31:48-31:50
	Okay, cos previously, LKY (Lee Kuan Yew) was like, he said in some context lah, that he is encouraging parents to speak Chinese or like mother tongue to children at home. So I mean you are already doing it, so I think maybe you might not have really caught it.	31:51-32:15

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	But I was just wondering if you actually, because just now Janet mentioned that your friends actually speaks mainly English to their children right? So do you actually try to, do you ever try to convert them a bit on, just telling them like what you are doing?	32:16-32:32
Janet:	Actually I don't	32:33
Harold:	Actually like what I said, they do recognise the importance of Chinese, but it's just that they are both very comfortable with English, so they find it more difficult to implement Chinese speaking with their child. Yah.	32:34-32:56
Janet:	I guess it's a very personal choice, so we don't really	32:57-33:04
Harold:	Yah	33:04
Researcher:	True. It's a very personal choice. I am just wondering you know, when close friends discuss, what do they discuss about.	33:05-33:13
	Okie, I think we are almost there. Just wondering if there's anything else that you would like to mention, like things you just saw or observed or things you would like to mention?	33:14-33:34
Janet:	Ok, maybe for me, because I used to go for speech and drama classes, in both for English and Chinese as well, and I find it to be quite beneficial for me, especially the English part, because I wasn't a English speaker when I was young, so I think had I not been exposed to these speech and drama classes, my English would have been quite bad. So I think no matter which language it is, I think it is always beneficial for kids to learn, if they are interested. And I do plan to send my kids for these classes if she likes it.	33:35-34:20
Researcher:	Erm, ok.	34:21
Janet:	((laughs)) How? Is it essential?	34:22-34:23
Researcher:	没有啦。I think 没有所谓 essential or not essential lor I guess. I guess it's just like creating environment for them?	34:24-34:37
Janet:	Yes	34:38
Researcher:	What about Harold?	34:39
Harold:	I guess I am a bit like what I was saying, because of the rise of China, there's really a lot of scope for mandarin speaking capability. So because I think like for my job, part of the reason why I was hired was because I could speak Chinese. Because the company uses a lot of Chinese vendors. So it's becoming more and more important to know more languages I think.	34:40-35:20

Transcript 3: Interview with Harold and Janet

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Oh you actually know that you are kind of hired because of your ability to speak Chinese?	35:21-35:24
Harold:	Erm yes, because during the interview, they were asking how's my Chinese? So like I took Higher Chinese, although it was not very good, but I guess it convinced them lah.	35:25-35:38
Researcher:	Ok, I think that's about all. Thank you very much.	

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Date of interview: 26 May 2011

Section 1: Personal Language Experiences

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	This interview is generally for me to find out more about your family language practices. Perhaps you can share briefly the language you spoke as a child yourself. So, we can start with either of you first.	00:01-00:21
Thomas:	As a child, I will speak mainly Teochew, which is my parents' dialect group. So I will say it's erm, I will say probably 50% of the time, cos 50% of the time I am speaking to my parents, so it is in Teochew. The rest of the time with my siblings. I have a elder sister and a elder brother, I am the third in the family. So when I speak with my siblings, I would say it is mainly Mandarin, it is really mainly Mandarin. So parents is Teochew, siblings is Mandarin.	00:21-01:11
Researcher:	Okay, the Mandarin came from schooling or?	01:12-01:15
Thomas:	Yah, came mainly from schools, erm and also TV.	01:16-01:21
Researcher:	Okay, what about Kelly?	01:22-01:25
Kelly:	I will say so too. From young we actually speak dialect at home, so my dialect is Hainanese. So I think after we go schooling right, we are exposed to Mandarin, so we speak more Mandarin. I particularly remember the first time we started the Speak Mandarin Campaign, so actually we will take note huh, 谁讲海南话, we will use a chalk to draw on the toilet lah, then at the end of the day, 我们看谁被罚钱, 这样啦。	01:26-01:36 01:37-02:00
Researcher:	That's in school right?	02:00-02:02
Kelly:	So for recollection right, we speak dialect at that time, then 我们越来越大, 就讲比较多华语咯。	02:03-02:14
Researcher:	Ok. Which year are you all born in?	02:15-02:22
Thomas:	1967, 1967. Then she is 1969.	02:23-02:30
Researcher:	Ok, that will help me orientate a bit.	02:31-02:35
Researcher:	Ok, then what about last time when in school right, what were your language norms between you and your peers in school at	02:35-02:49

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	different stages? Let's say primary all the way till university.	
Thomas:	Ok, I would say primary school, would be mainly Mandarin. Er, secondary school, English. Basically because of friends. During primary school, most of my friends they speak mandarin, so I speak Mandarin. Secondary school, they tend to come from La Selle, you know, independent schools, so they tend to speak more English. JC (Junior Colleges), I would say more English as well, than Mandarin. I would say that both secondary and JC is 80, 20 (%). 80 (%) would be English and 20 (%) would be Mandarin. In university for me, I would say 60, 40 (%). With my classmates, it would mainly be in English. With 中文学会, that is where I know Kelmen right, with 中文学会, which occupies quite a bit of my time, about 40% of my time, then I would speak Mandarin.	02:50-04:09
Researcher:	Ok, so what were you majoring in? What was Thomas majoring in?	04:09-04:15
Thomas:	I majored in Engineering.	04:15-04:20
Researcher:	Ok, then secondary school and JC (Junior College), which schools were you in?	04:22-04:29
Thomas:	I was in Queenstown secondary, and JC I was in Raffles.	04:30-04:35
Researcher:	Ok, what about Kelly?	04:36-04:37
Kelly:	Actually, I think it's about the same experience. In primary school it is more Chinese, more Mandarin. Secondary school, I think it is 50: 50 (%). It's only come to JC, then my friends are more English speaking. Then come to university, I am in, I do sociology and philosophy, so among my friends, my classmates right, we speak English, and 中文学会 right, we speak in Chinese.	04:38-05:09
Researcher:	Alright. Kelly, what were the schools you were in? Like secondary school and JC?	05:10-05:17
Kelly:	Secondary school I am in Raffles Girls and JC I am in Tampines Junior College.	05:18-05:24
Researcher:	Ok, then for currently right, maybe you can also tell me about your current language practices personally, like what languages do you speak most of the time for the following domains: for example work, social life, in the house, between spouse, and if religion is applicable, then religion as well. So, five areas. Work, social life, home, extended family, as well as between spouse and religion.	05:24-06:05
Thomas:	((Thomas took a piece of paper, repeated the choices and noted down the five domains.))	06:06-06:30
Thomas:	For me, work life, I will say it is 90% English, 10% Mandarin. Social life, we actually don't have a social life. ((laughs))	06:31-07:06

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Since we have children, we don't have social life. If we meet them, it is mainly with 中文学会或者是戏剧盒的人. If we meet them, for some outing, then maybe we will speak in Mandarin.	
Researcher:	Ok	07:07-07:08
Thomas:	But it is quite rare that we meet now	07:09-07:11
Researcher:	((Laughs)) Ok, but that's your main social life now.	07:11-07:13
Thomas:	Yah, that's my main social life. So if you exclude the social life that we have, with colleagues, I would still consider that as work. So...	07:13-07:16 07:17-07:29
Researcher:	Sorry, what about your social life with colleagues, like off work? What is you're the medium of interaction?	07:30-07:35
Thomas:	Erm, English, it will still be very much the same as in the office environment. Then, for home, home I will say we actually erm ((looks at Kelly))	07:36-07:41 07:42-07:50
Kelly:	I think it depends on what we say. I think more Mandarin.	07:51-07:54
Thomas:	Erm, what I told Kelmen is, erm, 20% good English, 60% Singlish, that means it's really a jumbo of Mandarin and English right, and 20% Mandarin. That is the percentages that I gave Kelmen to prepare	07:54-08:16 08:17-08:23
Researcher:	It doesn't matter. It is just your gauge feeling. Yah.	08:23-08:26
Thomas:	So, 20% good English, like now I think we are practically speaking good English. Then 60% Singlish, we are interacting with the kids, erm, and when we speak with each other, certain things are expressed in English, and certain things are expressed in Mandarin. Then 20% is expressed in pure Mandarin.	08:27-08:53
Researcher:	Ok, ok. What about Kelly? For work.	08:54-08:56
Kelly:	Uhm, work erm, actually it depends on party. Some people are English speaking, so I will be conscious and be more consistent lah. But some of them are more receptive, then I will mix. Most of the time it is in English. Then now my boss just came back from Beijing, so he speaks Mandarin most of the time. So I will entertain him and we will speak Mandarin lah.	08:57-09:18 09:20-09:28
Researcher:	So your boss previously spoke in English?	09:28-09:30
Kelly:	He, last time arh, yah, mostly in English. Actually it is more formal lah. When we speak to him, we are more conscious to speak in proper English. When with staff, with people who are your peers, then we are more 'chin chye'.	09:31-09:54
Researcher:	What are you working as now?	09:55-09:56

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Kelly:	I am a business analyst kind of thing, doing strategy planning, studying performance	09:57-10:03
Thomas:	In Prudential	10:03-10:04
Kelly:	Yah in Prudential	10:05-10:06
Researcher:	And for you (Thomas), you are?	10:06-10:08
Thomas:	Jobless. Erm, a few months ago, I am actually 13 years with Microsoft.	10:08-10:14

Section 2: Family Language Policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok, so between you all, both of you will speak a mix of languages as well?	10:15-10:22
Thomas, Kelly:	En ((nod head))	
Researcher:	So, when you say you mix languages, do you mean like you are switching between sentences, like this sentence is English and next sentence is Chinese, or you kind of mix, like, within a sentence you have a lot of switches as well? What do you think? Just a gauge.	10:25-10:43
Thomas:	Oh, for me, it is both cases. Sometimes, one sentence in English and one sentence in Chinese. And sometimes, the same sentence will be in English and Chinese.	10:44-10:54
Kelly:	Very unconscious lah, sometimes. Yah, I also don't know sometimes.	10:55-11:00
Researcher:	Yah ((laughs)), ok. It's fine.	11:00-11:02
Thomas:	I actually find that (0.5) erm, talking about more mundane things, 比较琐碎的事情, 或者是骂小孩子的话, 通常都是用 erm, English. It is easier to scold them you know. (Demonstration: "Go and do your work!", "Go and sleep now!", "What are you doing?", "Eat your dinner!" "快点吃, 吃你的晚餐", no, no we don't say that.) 所以, 通常比较琐碎的事情, 我觉得会是用 English. It is a more 'working' language. Then, 我觉得如果是比较谈心, 比较谈心一点的东西, 可能就会用华语吧。	11:03-11:24 11:25-11:37 11:38-11:44 11:45-11:58
Researcher:	包括跟你的小孩?	11:59-12:02

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas:	<p>小孩? erm, probably when I say that, it is more relative with her ((pointing to Kelly)).</p> <p>小孩, erm,她们现在, 她们 relatively 听不懂。。。她们听得懂中文, 但是她们听得很吃力。所以如果要用华语谈心事, 是谈不来的。</p> <p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>The kids? erm, probably when I say that, it is more relative with her ((pointing to Kelly))</i></p> <p><i>The kids, erm, currently they, they won't understand it relatively... can understand Mandarin when spoken to in the language, but they have difficulties comprehending it effectively. So if I want to use Mandarin to have a close chat and to share feelings, it is impossible.</i></p>	<p>12:03-12:14</p> <p>12:15- 12:30</p>
Kelly:	他们会“huh”? ((Laughs))	12:30-12:33
Thomas:	<p>((Laughs)) 他们会“huh”, “这是什么意思?”“什么是琐碎? 什么是。。。?”她们会有很多问号, 所以比较难适应。所以对孩子, 我们现在应该是 80%讲英语, 20% 我们尽量讲华语。</p> <p>So, just starting last week, because she failed her Higher Chinese, so I used this as an opportunity to say that “ Okay, so we need to set aside Sunday and Tuesday as Speak Mandarin Day”. So now, for my eldest daughter, she is quite receptive now, on Sunday and Mandarin, erm for the past one week. Cos we have not gotten past more than one week. ((Laugh)). So we have tried for one Sunday and one Tuesday for the past week. Quite successful so far, I hope to sustain that. Try, we try on certain days lah, we speak mandarin.</p>	<p>12:34-13:04</p> <p>13:05-13:54</p>
Researcher:	Erm, how old are your children?	13:55-13:57
Thomas:	The elder one is primary five, so she will be eleven this year. The younger one is five years old.	13:58-14:05
Researcher:	Also a girl?	14:05-14:06
Thomas:	Yah both girls.	14:06-14:07
Researcher:	So, prior to this, the Sunday and Tuesday thing, did you all actually have any other tries at trying to manage your language at home?	14:08-14:20
Kelly:	Maybe not a conscious effort lah. Maybe, most of the time we actually unconsciously speak in English, because they	14:21-14:55

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	respond to you in English. Or they (don't) even respond to you at all if you speak to them in English (Chinese). Erm, yah. Because if we do consciously speak to them in Mandarin right, they respond back in English. So actually quite demoralising lah. So I think slowly as it goes on arh, it becomes very natural for us to speak to them in English. So I think that is the problem lor.	
Thomas:	Yah yah. With, with the elder child, I think probably Primary one ah, we were, we did try like, ok, you speak Mandarin I speak English, something like that. but we lost the discipline after a while. We lost the discipline.	14:56-15:13
Researcher:	Before she went to Primary One right, when your first child was born, did you remember if the both of you actually discussed about such things?	15:14-15:16
Thomas:	We actually didn't discuss. Only when school going age then we suddenly ((showed shocked expression)) realised she is not willing to speak Mandarin at all. (Demonstrated: "I want to speak English, erm, I am English. I am not Chinese." You know, she will say "I am actually a English girl" , "I am not Chinese")	15:17-15:46
Researcher:	((Laughs)) She told you that?	15:47-15:48
Thomas:	Yah, She is really young then, she is really young. They don't have the concept of ethnicity and the language. So they mixed everything together. So she will say that. (Demonstrated: "I don't want to speak Chinese", "I am English arh, I am English. I am not Chinese"). Yah, something like that. Before schooling lah, before schooling.	15:49-16:09
Researcher:	Before schooling, as in at that time the first child was very young, erm, were you all also speaking mainly English with her?	16:10-16:18
Thomas:	Erm, I would say...	16:19-16:20
Kelly:	I would say most of the time lah.	16:20-16:22
Thomas:	Most of the time Singlish lah. I would say Singlish.	16:22-16:25
Researcher:	Ok	16:25-16:26
Thomas:	Chinese a bit lah, you know. But I would say the proportion of English was more. Like what you mentioned just now, one sentence English , one sentence Chinese and in a single sentence with a mix of English and Chinese.	16:27-16:45
Researcher:	OK, can you all recall why you all make this decision, or like why do you all like just naturally use English? On retrospect, do you think there's (conscious decision)?	16:46-16:58
Thomas:	Erm, I don't think there was any conscious decision	16:59-17:04
Kelly:	It was quite natural.	17:04-17:06

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas:	Yah.	17:07
Kelly:	Because also when they enter school, child care, all the rest are speaking in English. So naturally, very fast, they will pick up this habit of speaking English as well. So when you speak to them in Mandarin, and there's no response, so from that time onwards, we just take the easy way out lor, we just continue to speak to them in English. Then Chinese becomes a very conscious effort that, you know, we are very conscious when we talk to them.	17:08-17:37
Thomas:	Yup. The thing we noticed is that, when they speak to their grandparents,	17:38-17:44
Kelly:	They will automatically switch.	17:44-17:45
Thomas:	They will automatically switch to Mandarin. Yah. So	17:46-17:48
Kelly:	So, if they know that you know English, they will not speak to you in Mandarin. ((Laughs))	17:49-17:57
Researcher:	Ok. But were you all the main care takers when they were very young?	17:58-18:03
Thomas:	Yes	18:04
Kelly:	We have no maids, so we take care of our children ourselves.	18:05-18:07
Researcher:	And so, you all and child care?	18:07-18:08
Kelly:	Yah	18:09
Researcher:	And so the elder child and even the younger child will be spending most of their time in child care before school?	18:10-18:20
Thomas, Kelly:	Yah	18:21
Researcher:	Ok.	18:22
Thomas:	Yah, so they will be there from 730am and we will fetch them at 7pm.	18:23-18:31
Researcher:	Ok. And so, just now Kelly was saying that in the preschool and childcare, the peers are mainly English speaking as well.	18:32-18:44
Kelly:	((Nod))	18:45
Researcher:	And including like the lesson structure and the activities, probably were mainly in English as well?	18:46-18:54
Thomas:	Yes. The speaking is mainly English. And they do have Chinese [lessons]	18:55-19:00
Kelly:	[They do have] Chinese lessons lah.	19:00-19:01
Researcher:	Ok	19:02
Kelly:	But they prefer English.	19:03-19:06
Researcher:	Ok. Er, how often do the grandparents see the children?	19:07-19:12

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas:	Erm, once a week.	19:13-19:17
Researcher:	So the grandparents will only speak Chinese to them, or they will do dialects as well?	19:18-19:25
Thomas, Kelly:	Chinese.	19:26

Section 3: Factors Influencing Parental Language Ideologies

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. Maybe you can just briefly tell us right, currently you say that you have some conscious effort, very conscious effort to maintain a bit of Chinese with your child. So maybe you can share with us why you do you think you actually want to make that conscious effort?	19:28-19:52
Thomas:	<p>Er, well. Mainly because we just find that it is very sad that she don't speak Mandarin, her capability to express in Mandarin is very poor. To think that last time, for me lah, for me, I actually speak Mandarin pretty well. Not now. Up till JC I speak mandarin pretty well. During JC, I went on a Taiwan exchange programme. Within the whole Singapore students group from the different JCs, I will be the representative.</p> <p>好像要上台致词，感谢那些家长，还是做大会司仪还是什么，都是我。所以一直到 JC 啦，一直到初院，我的中文都是讲得不错的。等到我孩子变成这样，很伤心啦。对，很伤心。所以就有这样的一个 conscious effort.</p> <p><i>Translation: For example, it was always me who represented the others to give a speech, to thank parents, or to be the emcee for an event. So up till Junior College time, my Mandarin has always been good. Now that my child is in this situation, it's very upsetting. Yah, very upsetting. Therefore, there is this conscious effort.</i></p>	19:53-21:09
Kelly:	<p>好像有点很 un-Chinese 的感觉咯，如果你不懂的华语。</p> <p>尤其现在看到一些公司比较小的 staff 啊，他们连看 i 周刊都不会看。You know, it's like 你是华人，但是你连看都不会看。It is more of the un-Chineseness that we want to undo.</p>	21:10-21:15 21:16-21:39
Researcher:	"the un-Chineseness that you want to undo", did you say that?	21:40-21:44

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Kelly:	“the un-Chineseness that we want to undo” ((clarify with Thomas)) . Yah , correct.	21:45-21:49
Researcher:	So, for you all, you are trying to imply that Chinese (Mandarin) is something that you all link to, the ethnicity or identity? That the language that you speaks, marks your identity?	21:50-22:12
Thomas:	Erm, I think...	22:13-22:17
Kelly:	I think so.	22:17-22:18
Thomas:	Erm, for me , I think my 期许 for her is that 至少她是可以读报纸，能读中文报纸。 Translation: I think my <i>aspiration</i> for her is that <i>at least she is able to read newspapers, able to read Chinese newspapers.</i>	22:20-22:36
Kelly:	I 周刊也可以。哈哈。	22:37-22:39
Thomas:	I 周刊也可以啦，也可以啦。哈哈	22:40-22:43
Kelly:	Laughs	22:44
Thomas:	好像今天我们给她借连环图看，连环图书	22:45-22:47
Researcher:	大的还是小的？	22:48
Thomas:	大的，大的。小的我觉得还有点可以救啦。	22:49-22:55
Kelly:	现在她这个 childcare, 它的华语的课程不错。她，相比起来，她会努力去读，因为她们有华文课本嘛。她的故事书。	22:56-23:14
Thomas:	她的阅读计划	23:15-23:16
Kelly:	所以现在她会，她有几本书她会读了。有些字她也会认，她也会去写出来，以前那个大的没有。	23:16-23:27
Thomas:	小的，小的还有一丝，还有一点希望。但是，她，怎么讲，她挺崇拜她的姐姐的。所以，如果她姐姐还是继续不喜欢中文的话，那她可能也会步她姐姐的后尘。所以，我们现在要着重，concentrate on the older one, so that she can be a better role model for the younger one.	23:28-24:03
Researcher:	Ok, so for the younger one, her usual language with you all is also English?	24:04-24:10
Thomas:	Yah, also English.	24:11-24:12

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Kelly:	She doesn't want to speak in mandarin.	24:13-24:14
Researcher:	The younger one also?	24:15-14:16
Kelly:	Yah, you speak to her in Mandarin right, she will come back in English.	24:17-24:20
Thomas:	She will like "Don't speak to me in English"	24:21-24:23
Kelly:	"Don't speak to me in Mandarin"	24:24-24:25
Thomas:	Oh yah, "Don't speak to me in Mandarin!", "Speak to me in English!" She will insist that we speak to her in English. And I will always have to tell her "oh but Papa would like to talk to some of my China friends, so I have to practice my Mandarin as well. " So I would just continue and continue and continue to speak to her in Mandarin. Or let's say on our bus journey back, cause sometimes I fetch her in public transport, then after I start speaking to her in Mandarin, she will actually then try to converse with me in Mandarin. I think she is still at a age that 还有救啦。 ((Laugh)) The elder one is a bit more stubborn. But since last week she failed her Higher Chinese, she is trying to, erm 怎么讲呢?	24:26-24:35 24:36-24:45 24:46-25:13 25:14-25:24
Kelly:	Showing maintenance. (0.5) 三分钟热度啦	25:25-25:28
Thomas:	两分钟热度啦。We will see how she sustain it. Hopefully, she will stay happily interested. ((Laughs))	25:28-25:37
Researcher:	((Laughs)) So just now you all also mentioned your consciousness came when they started schooling, almost when the elder one was about to start school right? I think you kind of mention like, your conscious for this language...	25:38-25: 56
Thomas:	Yah ((nods head))	25:58
Researcher:	So how do you think like, maybe like, the education system has kind of affected your this kind of consciousness?	25:59-26:09
Thomas:	(0.5) Erm, actually more from her results. (Laughs) I remember Primary One mid-year exams, her Chinese is the worst subject. Anyway, got only 3 subjects (laughs). Oh maybe not her Chinese. Her maths was the worst. Her Chinese was strategically bad lah.	26:10-26:35
Kelly:	Later she picked up.	26:36-26:37

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas:	Yah, later she picked up. But it's still below lah. It is one of the kiasu parents perspective lah, we.	26:37-26:47
Kelly:	For me, for me it is not that exams results. It is more of, erm, right now you see more children speaking in Mandarin, and your child doesn't speak well or don't want to speak well, then it just, it doesn't sound like right lor. For me, it is more from that perspective.	26:48-27:07
Researcher:	Yah , I think that Kelly is trying to express that, I mean you think that , do you think that it is a requirement for her to speak Chinese because she is Chinese?	27:07-27:18
Thomas, Kelly:	(3.0) ((Thomas and Kelly gazed at each other. Thomas nods head.))	27:19-27:23
Researcher:	Can you just share with us your views about this linkage between language and culture? I mean ethnicity. I mean 你自己的 personal views.	27:24-27:33
Thomas, Kelly:	((Kelly deep in thoughts, Thomas smiled at her.))	27:34-27:40
Kelly:	你是华人你就要懂得你的文化嘛，你要懂得那个文化你就要懂得那个语言嘛。就好像你读老子、孔子，那些 Analects。我是读 Analects in English 的，因为我是 philosophy, NUS is in English 的。But I am very sure something is lost in the process of translation. So 我是觉得要了解那个文化，你就必须要通过那个语言去了解咯。 <i>Translation: If you are a Chinese, you should know your culture. If you want to know that culture, you have to know that language. For example, if you read Lao Tzu, Confucius and Analects. I read Analects in English, because I was reading philosophy, and NUS is in English. But I am very sure something is lost in the process of translation. So I feel that to understand that culture, it is necessary for you to understand it through that language.</i>	27:41-28:19
Researcher:	Ok, so you hope that 你的小孩以后有机会用中文读 Analects?	28:20-28:27
Kelly:	((Laughs))可以这样讲啦。((Laughs)) Erm, I think maybe I (don't) aspire them to be those like Kelmen 这样，那种 Chinese as a first language standard, no. It's more like the receptiveness lor.	28:28-28:45
Thomas:	Curiosity	28:46
Kelly:	Yah, and not like those “huh huh?” “他们讲什么 huh?” 那种 9 o'clock shows. 九点的那些电视连续剧。她是看	28:47-29:09

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	subtitles 的。Yah. 有时候人家讲得太快，她也不知道人家在讲什么。	
Thomas:	一定要有(English) subtitles.	29:10-29:11
Kelly:	所以很伤心咯。	29:12-29:13
Thomas:	因为以前有，erm, because Mediacorp will put up these shows online but without subtitles. So actually she was very lost, I remember ((laughs)). So, so she needs the subtitles.	29:14-29:29
Researcher:	Ok	29:30
Thomas:	But, but without affecting her school work, sometimes I do feel that let her watch this kind of TV series, dramas, erm, it helps lah. Because as she listens and she reads the subtitles, I do think that at least it helps.	29:31-29:53
Kelly:	Yah.	29:54
Thomas:	My, my only wish, I hope, is one day she can at least read the erm, 武侠小说 ((laughs)), you know, or certain of that you know, in Chinese. But I think I better lower my expectations. 可以读报纸，中文早报就可以了。 Translation: My, my only wish, I hope, is one day she can at least read the erm, <i>Wu Xia Martial Arts novels</i> ((laughs)), you know, or certain of that you know, in Chinese. But I think I better lower my expectations. <i>Just be able to read (Chinese) newspapers, Chinese Zaobao will be good enough.</i>	29:55-30:14
Kelly:	I 周刊 (a Chinese lifestyle magazine in Singapore)	30:15
Thomas:	Or i 周刊啦。I 周刊就可以了。	30:16-30:19
Kelly:	((Laughs))	30:19
Researcher:	Ok, so have you all gotten her to start reading i 周刊?	30:20-30:24
Kelly:	She checks the programmes (schedule) ((Laughs)) 节目表啊。如果她看 i 周刊，她是看那个节目表的。	30:25-30:31
Thomas:	如果是追剧情，她是读不懂那个剧情。我就说。啊，她每次就叫我读了跟她讲那个故事。因为她在追嘛，她跟我一样是电视迷。所以我就说，啊，no, 你自己读。然后读不懂。	30:32-30:52
Kelly:	But 她会看中文漫画。因为我这个大的，她有点 happy go lucky 这样的。所以她也不是完全真的很排斥华文，所以还是可以啦，她还是有读啦。	30:53-31:16
Researcher:	所以你们除了电视剧之外，你们还有什么其他营造环境的方式呢?	31:17-31:23

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas, Kelly:	((Look at each other.)) Thomas: 没有 ((laughs))	31:24-31:31
Thomas:	我们买 CD, 花了四五百块钱买华文 CD, 也是没有时间跟她们。。。 <p>我们本来想说叫她做剪报, 但是有没有订中文报纸, 所以就没有做剪报。不过她学校有。她们学校有订这个《大拇指》。就是早报的那个。所以她学校是有读大拇指。所以家里就没有, 就没有, 环境不多啦。</p>	31:32-32:14
Researcher:	Ok. Besides that, do you think that you might actually have a wish that your children will still keep chinese because of economics reasons?	32:15-32:27
Thomas, Kelly:	(4.0)	32:28-32:32
Thomas:	Economy? 不是没有考虑啦。I think it is probably, I think the culture part is priority one, the economic part is probably priority two.	32:33-32:45
Researcher:	Sorry?	32:46
Thomas:	Why we want them to be proficient in Chinese, I would say that the main reason is mainly the cultural part. Chinese you know. The secondary reason will probably be the economic reason. Because of China you know. Like next time maybe they have to go to China to work. You know and there are so many mainland Chinese students in our universities. She may get married to a mainland Chinese. ((Laughs))	32:47-33:22
All:	((Laughs))	33:22-33:30
Thomas:	So yah, so really really, the economic reason is not important.	33:31-33:44
Researcher:	Ok, do you think that for them to know Chinese, it is also social network wise, maybe it will help her? Social network wise. Besides the cultural reason, maybe also for communication reason. Or do you think maybe, actually English is enough for communication already? Communicative purposes?	33:45-34:13
Thomas:	With her friends, with her parents, actually English is very sufficient.	34:14-34:22
Researcher:	Ok	34:23
Thomas:	As of now, as of now. Even her cousins, I would say, they are 80% English speaking.	34:24-34:42

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. Your child she doesn't really want to speak in Chinese, but does she actually sounds weird in Chinese?	34:43-34:54
Thomas:	Oh, no. She speaks, erm, she speaks quite okay.	34:55-35:04
Researcher:	Oh, that's great.	35:05-35:06
Thomas:	In fact, in fact, in her early years, I even noticed that she speaks with some, erm, childcare. Because her Chinese teachers are mainly from China, She speaks with a little Beijing 腔 (accent) . But when she starts learning Hanyu Pinyin, so she reads sometimes, she will read a little bit like angmoh. Because they learn to use the Hanyu Pinyin to read out the words, and they are not fast enough to read the tones like that, then the way she reads the words will be like very angmoh.	35:07-35:58
Researcher:	Okay, that was then right?	35:59-36:03
Thomas:	Actually, even until now, when I ask her to read, the comprehension, the chinese one, she will, for those that she can read, sometimes she will read with the angmoh accent.	36:04-36:25
Researcher:	Erm, what school is she studying in now? The elder child	36:26-36:32
Thomas:	RGPS (Raffles Girls' Primary)	36:33
Researcher:	So was language one of the consideration for your choice? Or maybe for you younger child next time?	36:34-36:46
Kelly:	I think in Singapore, they (the school) probably need to give focus to both languages. So we don't want to choose because of that.	36:47-36:59
Researcher:	So, the younger one is probably going to be enrolled in schools right? So, what would your choice be? Maybe ?	37:00-37:10
Thomas:	Probably with sister lor. RGPS.	37:11-37:14
Researcher:	So, what was the reason you all choice RGPS?	37:15-37:17
Thomas:	Because she is alumni ((points to Kelly)) ((Thomas and Kelly laughed))	37:18-37:22
Kelly:	Confirms that she is alumni.	
Researcher:	Maybe one last part. I am not sure if you all have actually heard like some time, maybe last year, or the year before. Then our national leaders right, like Lee Kuan Yew, he was actually encouraging parents to speak the mother tongue to their children at home. There was like this kind of discourse which he did once or twice. I am not sure if you all caught it, or noticed it. But what do you think about it actually?	37:29-38:02
Kelly:	About his suggestion? Or about him suggesting it?	38:03-38:10
Researcher:	Both? If you want to comment on both?	38:11-38:12

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Thomas:	I think it is a very natural suggestion from him. Because I do feel that the family play a predominantly large part in inculcating, in providing such a Mandarin speaking environment.	38:13-38:34
	Let's say like James, Kelmen's son right? From young he has been with his grandparents, taken care of by his grandparents. I don't know whether Kelmen, did you do this interview with Kelmen as well?	38:36-38:54
Researcher:	No. I am taking him out of this. Hehe.	38:55-38:59
Thomas:	So, (0.5), I think they have a better grounding. When parents really speak Mandarin to kids, and the kid will really pick up well.	39:00-39:20
	An example is my sister, my sister married an angmoh, in Vancouver. We are visiting her this Saturday. She stays in Vancouver, and they have this kid, 5 years old. Because my sister thinks that it is her part, she speaks perfect Chinese to her son, she wants to make sure that he has some Chinese background as well. So from young, my sister will, and she is quite disciplined. Because of her situation, she is even more determined to speak Mandarin to her son at home. So when her son speaks to her in English, she will not, she will not answer him. So, so very disciplined. And so we can see quite clearly, that he can actually speak naturally and understand Mandarin , probably better than our younger daughter. They are the same age.	39:21-40:35
Researcher:	Ok, ok. But different social context.	40:36-40:40
Thomas:	Yah, So, I do think that the family play a large part, in nurturing them and giving them another choice of speaking and understanding Mandarin.	
	Researcher clarified with Kelly if she wanted to make some other comments about this discourse, to which Kelly explained that was only trying to clarify Researcher's question.	41:02-41:39
Researcher:	I think perhaps you have shared a little on your wish for your two daughters on the idea of bilingualism. I think Thomas has said more. Maybe Kelly can express a little more about. you know, since you all are making the conscious effort now, what is your wish for them?	41:40-42:03
Kelly:	I think my only wish is that they can converse in Mandarin, can read, not so difficult, but can read Mandarin. To me they do not need to be some Higher Chinese expert or some Chinese major kind of people.	42:07-42:32
Thomas:	不需要是“双语精英”	42:33-42:38

Transcript 4: Interview with Thomas and Kelly

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	Translation: <i>I don't need her to be a "bilingual elite".</i>	
Kelly:	<p>It is not really that kind of bilingualism that I am looking for. It is more of like, you know when 她们长大了，有一篇文章到她们面前，他们懂得读，她们懂得去分析。人家在台上讲华语，他们能够了解人家在台上讲的是什么。然后他们也可以用华语善于表达他们的思想。</p> <p>Translation: It is not really that kind of bilingualism that I am looking for. It is more of like, you know when <i>they grow up, should there be an article in front of them, they will be able to read it, they will be able to analyse it. When people speak in Mandarin on the stage, they will be able to understand what has been said. And they will be able to express their thoughts in Mandarin.</i></p>	42:39-43:10
Researcher:	ok	43:11
Thomas:	(Looks at Thomas) That's quite a tall order. People's address, analyse a Chinese article,	43:12-43:29
Kelly:	No lah. Not that kind of analysis that people need to write a PhD lah. More of like, just 一点点咯。	43:30-43:44
Researcher:	Ok. Thank you so much for sharing all these with me. It has been very insightful.	43:45-43:50

Appendix C: Transcripts of Interviews

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Date of interview: 15 June 2011

Section 1: Personal Language Experiences

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	This interview is generally for me to find out more about your family language practices. Perhaps you can share briefly the language you spoke as a child yourself. So, we can start with either of you first.	00:01-00:27
Samuel:	For me, the main one is still in Chinese, in Mandarin.	00:28-00:35
Yvonne:	我是方言吧。	
Samuel:	Cantonese.	
Researcher:	广东话?	
Yvonne:	Yes.	
Researcher:	Did your language practices change along the way, as you grow up? Like early childhood, then when you start schooling? (1.0) can you recall?	00:49-01:04
Yvonne:	应该是，也看场合啦。如果在家里的话，通常还是用方言，就算是跟我的兄长，也是方言。然后在学校就是华语或是英语。	01:05-01:24
Researcher:	小学的时候也是吗?	01:25-01:28
Yvonne:	对啊，一般都是华语或是英语，对。只是在家里，就一定是方言。其实一直到我结婚，一直到现在啊。只要在家里，我都会讲方言。对。	01:29-01:46
Researcher:	然后，学校的时候就是双语并用，包括大学的时候是吧?	01:47-01:53
Yvonne:	Erm, (0.5) 对。没错	01:54-01:59
Researcher:	Ok.然后，Samuel 呢?	02:00-02:02
Samuel:	Hmm (0.5), 可以说算是分成前半段和后半段吧。Erm, 小学到中学接触的是，因为算是华校，所以用，甚至在学校	02:03-02:27

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	和家里的语言用的都是以华语为主。然后是到了高中和大学之后，才会用英语比较多一些。	
Researcher:	Ok,ok.	02:28-02:30
Samuel:	So it's more like erm, before Pre-U and after Pre-U.	02:31-02:37
Researcher:	Ok, so Pre-U onwards, there will be more English, like with friends and others.	02:38-02:44
Samuel:	But with family, I still think Mandarin is the key one.	02:45-02:49
Researcher:	Ok. How about currently? What languages do you speak in work, social life and yah I think you all mentioned home already. What about currently, what language do you use in your work and in your social life?	02:50-03:11
Yvonne:	其实在家里，我是指在我自己本身家里，就是我父母亲家。如果现在，就是我们自己家，因为我结婚后我们就搬出来了，所以说我们家是以华语或以英语交谈。偶尔，呀，就是华语跟英语。	03:12-03:32
	然后，工作，工作也是。工作 uhm,其实都有。有华语、英语，我都会参杂一些方言，就是这样子。就是看那个时候，我的对象是谁，这样子。	03:33-03:48
	然后如果是在社交方面，就（0.3），社交方面其实也是一样耶。就是看对象而论咯，就是那个朋友，如果是以华语交谈的话，那我就以华语咯。然后，如果他是英语的话，我就跟他讲英语咯，这样子。	03:49-04:11
Researcher:	Ok. What about Samuel?	04:12-04:13
Samuel:	应该讲是这样讲。我们的，我们的社交朋友哦，比如说我们大学的朋友，现在还有交往的，因为我们都是中文学会的会员嘛，所以多少我们用华语的机会会比较多一些。	04:14-04:31
Researcher:	Ok.	04:32
Yvonne:	我本身是，我是英校生。然后我也是中文学会的。所以我的，我的，我的朋友群里面，就是有一部分是讲华语的，有一部分是讲英语的，就是我的旧同学。还有就是现在还有交往的旧同事。所以我是有两部分。	04:33-04:58
Researcher:	Ok. 你们那个年代还有分很明显的华校和英校的对吗？	04:59-05:03
Samuel:	I think I was the last few batches attending the so-called Chinese as a first language course. So, 就是到了我这一年的一年或两年之后就没有了，就完全是所谓的统一语言了。Because, 在我们那个时候是有所谓华、英校之分。	05:04-05:31
Researcher:	Ok.不好意思，我想问一下，Samuel 是不是跟 Kelvin 同一个年级？同龄？	05:32-05:39
Samuel:	对。其实我们都同年，都 69（年）的。	05:40-05:45

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Yvonne 也是 69 的吗?	05:45-05:47
Yvonne:	对啊,对呀。	05:48-05:49
Researcher:	哦, ok.好	05:50
Yvonne, Researcher:	((Laughs over the age issue))	05:51-05:56
Researcher:	因为通常大学, 有时候可能会差两岁嘛。	05:57-06:00
Yvonne:	因为他是	06:01
Samuel:	因为我是马来西亚人。	06:02-06:03
Researcher:	Ah...	06:04
Samuel:	所以不需要服兵役	06:05-06:07
Researcher:	Ok,ok. 那你是多小就过来新加坡念书呢?	06:08-06:14
Samuel:	Uhm, 我中学就过来了。	06:15-06:17
Researcher:	中学就过来了。ok	06:17-06:18

Section 2: Family Language Policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Maybe you can tell me how old your child is now?	06:23-06:28
Samuel:	14	06:29
Researcher:	You have one son only right?	06:30
Samuel:	That's right.	06:31
Researcher:	Ok. I don't know if you can recall, but I just wonder if you and your spouse discussed about family language planning when you were expecting your first child? I mean, your son.	06:32-06:46
Yvonne:	大概有吧	06:47-06:48
Samuel:	I think we did, I think we did. We actually wanted to speak more to him in Mandarin, thinking that because of the	06:49-07:11

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	environment in Singapore, uhm, he will have more chance of speaking English in the future. So we wanted to start off with Chinese at home.	
Researcher:	Ok.	07:11
Samuel:	But turn out that I think I speak more to him in Chinese and she speaks more to him in English. So, 我们变成好像有一点分工这样。 <i>Translation: So, there was some kind of division of labour between us.</i>	07:12-07:21
Researcher:	Ok	07:22
Samuel:	But of course ((? Audio recording not clear))	07:23-07:26
Researcher:	Ok, but this division wasn't really discussed, it just happened right?	07:27-07:31
Samuel:	Somehow yes,	07:32-07:34
Yvonne:	Yah	07:34
Samuel:	Somehow yes.	07:35-
Yvonne:	因为我本身是英校的，所以有时候会不经意地跟他讲英语这样子。不过，Jackson 从小的时候，因为刚开始的时候，我们有工作，所以就是 Samuel 的，就是 Samuel 的母亲帮忙看，然后就是因为这样子，所以他，Jackson 从小受阿嬷（影响），他就是以华语交谈。他就是，所以他不懂得方言哦。 <i>Translation: Because I studied in an English-medium school, so sometimes I tend to speak to him in English unconsciously. However, when Jackson was a child, because in the beginning, both of us were working, so it was Samuel's, Samuel's mother who helped us look after Jackson. Therefore, due to his grandmother's influence, Jackson spoke mainly in Mandarin. He is, so he actually doesn't know any dialect.</i>	07:36-08:08
Researcher:	因为他阿嬷跟他说华语？	08:09-08:10
Yvonne:	对，然后，应该是一直到了大概上，上小学吧。	08:11-08:23
Samuel:	小学。	08:24
Yvonne:	他其实到了托儿所的时候，其实还好，还有讲华语。然后到了小学一开始，他就，yah，他就讲英语了。然后他在学校多半是讲英语，然后回到家里有时候我们都会跟他讲华语，然后有些时候会参杂英语这样子。然后一般上在	08:25-08:51

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>家里，其实还是以华语为主。对。</p> <p><i>Translation: When he started attending pre-school, it was still alright. He was still speaking Mandarin. When he started Primary One, that's when, yah, he started speaking English. Then, when he is in school, he speaks in English most of the time. Then when he (Jackson) comes home, we will usually speak to him in Mandarin, and sometimes we mix a little English in it. Usually, it is still mainly in Mandarin in the home setting.</i></p>	
Researcher:	所以，也就是说	08:52-08:53
Samuel:	<p>It's just that the environment in Singapore, system in education in schools actually makes them speak more English. 所以不经意的，这些小朋友们就会越说越多英语，然后无形中他们的华文程度就会慢慢地降了下来，退了下来。其实我孩子的，小时候，在去学校之前呢，他的华文程度是蛮好的。比较英文程度是强很多，而现在是倒过来的。</p> <p><i>Translation: So unknowingly, these kids will grow to speak more and more English, and unknowingly, their Chinese standard will drop gradually, their standard will worsen. Actually, when my son was young, before he started formal schooling, his Chinese standard was quite good. Compared to English, his Chinese was stronger. Now, it's the other way round.</i></p>	08:54-09:25
Researcher:	((Laughs))	09:26
Yvonne:	<p>因为朋友之间，他们都是讲华,讲英语的。</p> <p><i>Translation: Because between friends, they are all speaking to each other in English.</i></p>	09:27-09:32
Researcher:	Ok. Erm, I just want to clarify a bit. Er, end up like you said that Samuel speaks more Chinese to your son, and Yvonne speaks English. But current practice, actually Yvonne is doing both languages with your son?	09:33-09:53
Yvonne:	Yah.	09:54
Samuel:	其实我们都是，怎么讲？我们都会讲双语，ok. It is just the tendency of me using Mandarin to speak to him is more than me speaking English to him. Whereas for her (Yvonne), it is more English than in Chinese. 就是这样子。	09:55-10:15

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<i>Translation: Actually we, how do you put it? We will speak in both English and Mandarin. Ok. It is just that...</i>	
Researcher:	Ok.	10:15
Samuel:	所以有点分不清，在这里。	10:16-10:18
Researcher:	Ok. 所以他的阿嬷一直照顾他，是一直照顾他到小学毕业为止啊？	10:19-10:25
Yvonne:	Uhm, 没有。	10:26
Samuel:	大概在小二小三吧，我们就把他寄托在所谓的 after school care. 所以从那时候起呢，他也就比较跟阿嬷少接触了，然后也比较少用华语。 <i>Translation: Until around Primary Two or Primary Three. Then we placed him in after school care. So from then onwards, he spent less time with his grandmother, and have less chance to use Mandarin.</i>	10:27-10:40
Yvonne:	不过，他只要跟他阿嬷在一起，他都会讲 [] <i>Translation:</i> <i>However, as long as he is with his grandmother, he will always []</i>	10:40-10:45
Samuel:	[因为也只能够] <i>Translation: [because that's the only way]</i>	10:45
Yvonne:	用心地跟阿嬷说华语。而且他会去想要怎么翻译成华语，这样他的阿嬷才会听得懂。他会很在意要去讲。对我们他就, 想不懂，他就直接跟你讲英语这样子。 <i>Translation:</i> <i>put in extra effort to speak in Mandarin with his grandmother, and he will think of how to translate his thoughts into Mandarin so that his grandmother will understand him.</i>	10:45-11:02
Researcher:	那他很小的时候你们就有跟他说英语吗？还是他入学之后，你们渐渐地跟着他的语言习惯？	11:03-11:13
Yvonne:	(1.0) 都有啊	11:14-11:16
Samuel:	没有刻意啦。没有很刻意地去做。那就是，er,好像自然而然形成了。	11:17-11:25

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Yvonne:	就是在跟他讲话的时候，通常都会用华语讲。然后我跟他讲话的时候他就没有注意哦，然后我就用英语讲这样子。	11:26-11:36
Samuel:	((Laughs))	11:37

Section 3: Factors influencing family language policy

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	Ok. 那，刚刚 Samuel 有提到，就是说，one of the factors,你觉得说是因为新加坡的这个环境来讲，所以促使你们决定主要以华语来跟小孩交谈。那除此之外，你们觉得还有什么其它因素吗？就是，你们在讨论的时候，（0.5）想要主要以中文跟他交谈。	11:37-12:09
Samuel:	毕竟还是华人嘛。I think personally I will prefer Mandarin speaking than English. So, somehow 就这样子，这样子决定了。Yah, 对。 <i>Translation: We are Chinese after all. I think personally I will prefer Mandarin speaking than English. So, somehow it was decided like that, just like that. Yah, right.</i>	12:10-12:27
Yvonne:	基本上就是，当，其实在家，我们一开始跟他讲华语的时候，我们是讲很，很就是，就是比较，不是很标准的华语。就是那种属于比较“Singlish”，不是 Sing- English, 是 Sing-Chinese, “Singnese” 你知道吗? ((Samuel laughs)) 因为我们都很习惯对方了。那么有时候就是讲那么一句话，你就，至少能举一反三这样子，你知道我讲头一句，你就知道我下一句想讲什么。反过来，他跟我们讲话，他有时候会讲一句，然后，然后我们知道要帮他要讲什么。所以开始那几年的时候，他跟阿嬷在一起，然后阿嬷就没有这样了解，所以他就会讲比较完整的。 然后后来就到了中学，小学的时候，小学的时候我们跟他讲话的时候就比较，就比较，很随意地跟他这样子讲。一直到了近几年啦，近几年，我们才会要求他讲标准的，讲标准的华语。	12:29-13:25 13:26-13:39

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>所以其实就是因为他的成绩，我们觉得说我们不能纵容他啦，因为我们觉得说，真的咯，一开始的时候，其实他的华语的程度比较好，然后我们可能那时候比较有点疏忽，觉得说他应该没问题啦，所以我们跟他讲的时候，可能就比较没有在意他的一些结构，一些用词。比如就是一些，一些表达的时候。所以，现在我们是比较会注重他的整个句子，整个用词的一个标准度，这样子。</p> <p><i>Translation: So actually it is because of his results, we feel that we cannot allow him to go on like this. We felt that, initially his standard of Mandarin was quite good, and then maybe we were a little negligent, and (we) thought that he should not have any problem with the language. So when we talk to him, we are not so conscious of the way he speaks, the sentence structure, the choice of vocabulary. For instance, some, some expressions. So now, we are more conscious and demanding of his ability to express himself correctly. Because he has no problem with English.</i></p> <p>所以我们现在是很注意这个，因为英语他是没有问题。因为他在学校跟他的朋友讲话，跟他的表哥表姐讲话都是讲英语的。</p> <p><i>Translation: Now, we are very conscious of this (Jackson's Mandarin), because he has no problem with English. Because when he converse with his friends in school, his cousins, all their conversations are in English.</i></p>	<p>13:40-14:23</p> <p>14:24-14:39</p>
Researcher:	嗯	14:39
Yvonne/ Samuel:	很自然的啊。	14:40-14:41
Yvonne:	<p>他们之间都是讲英语的。所以我们觉得说真的是应该多讲华语。所以现在，有时候是很不小心，很不经意地跟他讲（英语），尤其是我啦，要不然的话，我会，其实都会跟他讲华语。因为他的组织和表达，尤其是表达，真的是很差。</p> <p><i>Translation: They always speak in English amongst themselves. So we feel that we should really speak more Mandarin. So</i></p>	14:42-15:03

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<i>now, sometimes it's very unconscious, unconsciously speak to him (in English), especially me, if not, I will actually always speaking in Mandarin to him. Because his ability to construct sentences and to express himself (in Mandarin), especially expressing himself, is really very poor.</i>	
Samuel, Researcher:	Laughs	15:04-15:05
Researcher:	所以，所以你在说他的华文程度现在比较糟的情况下，你是基于他的成绩的考量，还是你是觉得他个人的语言能力的考量？	15:05-15:14
Yvonne:	Orh...现实来讲啦，	15:15-15:20
Samuel:	都是吧	15:20
Yvonne:	对啊	15:21
Samuel:	<p>因为你，因为我们在交谈的时候，我们对所用的词语，我们在对整个句子的连贯性啊等等，我们都没有问题。写方面可能就不一定。说都没有问题。</p> <p><i>Translation: Because, because when we (Samuel's generation) are having a conversation, we have no problem stringing our words into sentences. We have no problem. I can't say the same for writing. But speaking is not a problem.</i></p> <p>可是对他们这一辈来说，写读听说都有问题。他们很难完整的，要把他们想表达的意思哦，完完全全地表达出来。他们必须要参杂一些英语的成分，才能够把他们的意思表达出来。这是我觉得他们这一辈的问题。</p> <p><i>Translation: However, for Jackson's generation, they have problems with writing, reading, listening, speaking, all four skills in language. They find it very difficult to express their thoughts completely (in Mandarin). They need to mix their speech with some English, then they are able to express themselves completely. I think this is the problem for their generation.</i></p>	<p>15:22-15:39</p> <p>15:40-16:07</p>
Yvonne:	其实很明显哦。比如说他讲一句英语，你叫他试着用华语把它翻译出来，讲不出哦。能将，可是	16:08-16:22
Samuel:	必须参杂一两句（英语）用词就对了。	16:22-16:25
Researcher:	所以现在你们非常介意，也非常在乎，也非常注重他在说话的时候是否有参杂，有语码参杂的现象是吧？	16:26-16:37
Samuel:	我们是尽量啦。因为有时真的是太过习惯他们这一辈的这种说法咯，所以也就忘了。是这样啦。	16:38-16:47
Researcher:	刚才 Samuel 有提到说因为毕竟是华人，然后可能就是你可以说一下，你自己个人觉得 ethnicity 和 language 之间的	16:48-17:07

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	关系，你自己对这的看法。	
Samuel:	(5.0) 怎么说呢？	17:08-17:14
Researcher:	((Laughs)) 你就说你自己想说的东西。	17:14-17:18
Samuel:	<p>因为，因为我这几年，我这几年常跑中国大陆，因为我们工厂在那里有生意，那个厂房等等。有时候听到那些新加坡人哦，虽然说我们号称自己是双语教育成功的一群，可是有很多时候你看到我们那些新加坡，甚至是马来西亚人，其实马来西亚人会比较好一点，不过他们过去中国那边所说的华语，有点是那种剩后饭掏剩的那种，看了有点悲哀。</p> <p><i>Translation: Because, these few years, I have been going to China, as our factory has some business there, like the production line etc. Sometimes, when you listen to the Singaporeans, although we claim to have a successful bilingual education, however, very often, when you look at the Singaporeans, or even the Malaysians, actually the Malaysians are better, but the kind of Mandarin that they speak when they are in China, it is like leftovers from a bowl of rice, it is quite heart-wrenching to see it.</i></p>	17:19-17:57
	<p>虽然我们自己号称我们自己学过双语，我们能够掌握英语，我们能够掌握华语，可是你真正到了中国台湾这一块的话，我可以跟你说，很差很差，真的是讲的“咦咦啊啊”的那种。</p> <p><i>Translation: Although we claim that we are bilingual, we have mastered English and Mandarin, however, when you really go to China and Taiwan, I can tell you, it is really very poor, (Singaporeans) speak in very incomplete sentences (in Mandarin).</i></p>	17:58-18:16
	<p>所以从那边开始，我们就一言为定说，想要注意多一些我们孩子这方面的东西。不然身为华人，你去到中国华文这个大地区的话，你所说的是那种人家听不懂的华文，其实是一件很丢脸的事情。</p> <p><i>Translation: So, from then onwards, we came to an agreement, that we should be more conscious of our child in this area. If not, as an ethnic Chinese, when you go to the big Chinese-region like China, if the Mandarin that you speak is</i></p>	18:17-18:39

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<i>incomprehensible to the others, it is actually very disgraceful</i>	
Researcher:	嗯。所以，这个语言的能力，整体语言能力，其实，它影响了你的这个，怎么讲呢，就是对于孩子说话的要求。他自己的语言能力的表现，它就影响了你想要怎么管，我的 term 是 language management lah, 有点像怎么管理你的孩子的说话的那个方式这样。因为他现在的语言能力，达不到你心里的一个比较令你满意的要求吗？	18:40-19:23
Yvonne:	其实我们已经 [((laughs))]	19:23-19:26
Samuel:	[很降低要求了]	
Researcher:	你说什么？	19:27
Yvonne, Samuel:	我们其实已经很降低要求了((Yvonne/Samuel laughs))	19:28-19:33
Yvonne:	我知道，我们，基本上我们学校现在的环境，其实不是很注重华语[你]知道吗？	19:34-19:45
Samuel:	[对]	
Yvonne:	如果比起我来讲，我们以前小学到中学，我是英校生，然后我在家里是讲方言的，然后跟我的哥哥他们也是讲方言的。所以家里基本上就是一个语言，又，英语和华语其实是根本不会用到的。然后基本上就是在学校的环境里面，慢慢地去学习，然后就是去，去真正改进那个语言的能力。	19:46-20:22
	所以，其实我觉得母语那时做得比较好，比较多。所以我现在对 Jackson 来讲的话，其实我们做得比较多。我们在家里还会跟他讲英语啊，跟他讲华语。然后学校里还会有很多不同的学习环境。可是他们讲华语的语言程度，是真的很低哦。一般上其实真的很低哦。他的一个补习老师就有讲到说，以他的程度，其实已经算是不错了！你知道吗？所以其实我很讶异。可能就是现在一般来讲，很多小学生、中学生，华文程度已经不再像是当年这样子了。	20:23-21:08
	可能整个学校，整个学习环境，可能整个大环境来讲，可能整个，可能是商业的那个环境来讲的话，注重的还是英语。所以学校里不怎么在乎要用华语这样。这其实是挺悲哀的事情。	21:09-21:29
	很多时候，你在跟，我本身，我在工作的时候，我有接触到各个国家的人。然后很多时候是，他们就是有些时候是华人，他们可能是印尼华侨，或者是缅甸华侨。对他们来说，能够讲华语，其实是一个，其实算得上是一个	21:30-22:16

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>privilege。然后如果我们能够跟他讲华语的话，然后就是他会很高兴。然后如果讲得标准的话，他们会觉得很难的。因为他们的国家没有这样的环境，这样子。</p> <p><i>Translation: Many a times, when one talks to, for me, I encounter people from different countries in my work. And very often, they are ethnic-Chinese. They could be Indonesian Chinese, or Burmese Chinese. To them, being able to speak Mandarin, it is actually a kind of privilege. And if we can speak to them in Mandarin, they will be very happy. If we speak in a more standard way, they will think that it is really hard to come by. Because for them, their countries do not have such an environment (to acquire Mandarin and to use Mandarin).</i></p> <p>新加坡其实是有这样的环境，因为我们有华人。可是，就是比较悲哀的就是没有看到这样的情况。而是你感觉到那个华文程度其实是越来越低了。</p> <p><i>Translation: Singapore actually has such an environment, because we have Chinese. However, it is quite sorrowful and tragic that we don't see such a situation (to feel privileged to be able to speak Mandarin). In contrast, you feel that the standard of Chinese is dropping by the day.</i></p>	22:17-22:30
Researcher:	<p>Yvonne 在讲话的时候，一直讲到“悲哀”这个词哦。可能不介意的话，你可以分享一下，悲哀之处在哪儿？至少对于你自己来说。</p> <p><i>Translation: Yvonne kept using the term “sorrowful and tragic”. If you don't mind, can you share your thoughts? What is the tragic and sorrowful thing? At least to you.</i></p>	22:31-22:46
Yvonne:	<p>华人不可以讲，不会讲华语啊！想到多么悲哀的事情，对不对？真的啊！我觉得，嗯，对。其实就算是你说，在，你去中国，或者说是你在面对中国人，华人的时候，你跟他们讲话的时候，其实你会觉得有点惭愧。因为我们在交谈，讲话的时候，我们都会参杂一些英语在里面。其实就算有时候我们过去中国旅行的时候，我们看到很多新加坡人在这边，我们很容易就能够知道他是新加坡人，你知道吗？其实他只要有一个句子，一定会有一个英语的，一定会有参杂在里面的，那个一定就是新加坡人。让我觉得是，其实身为华人来讲，其实真的是不应该。而且从他们中国人那方面来看，这个就是新加坡人-他们不会讲一个真正的，一个比较完整的句子，你知道吗？有时候他们说，你的华语讲得很好，那其实我的华语讲得不是很好，你知道吗？可是对他们来说，他们已经看到太多讲得很烂的华</p>	22:47-24:33

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>语，所以对他们来说，我们是稀有动物哦。两个人都是这样子。所以我觉得其实华人讲华语其实是应该的，只是现在来讲，已经没有这么说，这么特别要显示出华人就一定要讲华语。不一定。只要华人能够交谈，用什么语言，其实都是 ok 的。这个应该是学校给他们的一些（信息），这方面吧。</p> <p><i>Translation: Chinese cannot, unable to speak Mandarin! It's so sorrowful and tragic just to think about it, isn't it? Really! I feel that, yes. Actually, even when, let's say, when you go to China, or when you speak to the Chinese, the Chinese people, when you talk to them, actually one will feel inadequate. Because when we converse (in Mandarin), when we speak, we always mix some English in it. Actually, even when we holiday in China, we can see a lot of Singaporeans there, and we can identify them easily, you know? Because even in just a sentence, there will definitely be English, there will definitely be (some English) mixed in the sentence, that must be a Singaporean. It makes me feel that, as an ethnic-Chinese, it is really something that should not have happened. And from the viewpoint of a Chinese national, this marks a Singaporean – they can't speak in a complete sentence (in Mandarin), you know? Sometimes, they will say, Yvonne, your Mandarin is so good. Actually my Mandarin is not really good, you know? But to them, they have encountered too many (Singaporeans) who speak really lousy Mandarin, so for them, we are rarity. Both of us (Samuel and Yvonne). So I feel that ethnic Chinese should be able to speak Mandarin. It's just that now, there is no longer such a feeling, such a notion that highlights the need for an ethnic Chinese to be able to speak Mandarin. Not necessary. As long as a Chinese can converse, in whatever language, actually it is ok. I think this is what the message the schools are giving them (the children).</i></p>	
Researcher:	你刚刚说那句，“只要华人可以”怎么样？你可不可以重复？因为我听不清楚。	24:35-24:40
Yvonne:	<p>华人就是要，对他们来说，已经没有华人，马来人，印度人这样子。只要能够交谈，只要能够跟任何人交谈，其实都 ok。所以如果说你要说，而且现在在商业来讲，在 business world,都是以英语交谈的，所以学校也没有特别说要去讲标准的华语这样子。就是只要能够在，就是没有刻意去注重华文。</p> <p>因为毕竟现在，the business language is still, is still English.</p> <p><i>Translation: After all, currently, the business language is still, is still English.</i></p>	24:41-25:17
Samuel:	It's the government policy that contributes to the development of this declining of the Chinese language standard. 因为新加坡政府已经不把，所谓的，不要说只是华文，就是把所有的第二语文都当作只是一个能够帮你在，就是保持一些一	25:18-25:56

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	<p>定的传统，然后将来你可以少许用到一些，在商业上。然后最重要的还是英语，还有其他的一些科目， subjects。</p> <p>就是，在前一阵子，是不是有提到说，是不是要把华语的程度给进一步给降低下来啊？那时候因为受到太大的压力，太大的阻力，所以后来才开始，后来没有很，很正式地把水平给降低，可是其实已经在做了。所以 I think it is the government policy 让我们这些小一辈的，他们就已经在衡量他们的课业当中，都会取舍。当你在取舍当中，华文很不幸地就被牺牲掉了。I would say, it is partly also the fault of the government.</p>	25:56-26:44
Researcher:	你刚刚讲“牺牲”。所以，你觉得说，在这个制度下，这样一个双语教育的制度，实际上是有一个“牺牲”的成分在里面面对吗？有一个语言，某一个语言就是被牺牲掉了。	26:45-27:04
Samuel:	譬如说，假设啊，如果说你要上大学，在以前就是说，你的第二语文必须是考合格的。就是要考 C6。那现在已经是不需要了是吗？好像说你即使是不及格，你也可以继续上大学，，只是可能，我不知道啦，好像是有这样的情况。所以你无形中是给学生有个选择说我其实是可以放弃它的。如果是说，你规定一定要考 C6 或以上的话你才能进大学，那我相信多数学生就不会这样随便轻易地把这个科目放在一边，然后倾全力地攻其它科目。	27:05-28:04
Researcher:	Uh hmm.	28:05
Yvonne:	<p>其实我觉得这个双语制度其实在新加坡来说，其实是成功的。起码是我们这一代来说。((Laughs)) 因为其实很多外国的一些朋友啊，就是我接触到的一些客人，我的顾客，他们很多时候，他们来新加坡，他们都很欣赏新加坡的教育制度。尤其是我们的双语制度。所以一般上比如说老挝的、中国的、缅甸的、印尼的、柬埔寨的，他们很多比较有能力的，都会把他们的孩子送到这边来读书。就是因为我们的双语的政策。</p> <p>只是到了下来这近十年吧，十年吧，这整个制度就有点，有点就是变质了。就是政策，像是有点偏差了，就不想是所谓的双语并重这样子。</p>	28:05-29:02 29:02-29:26
Researcher:	什么东西导致你觉得现在的制度不是很双语并重了呢？	29:27-29:33
Yvonne:	他们在教，教华文的时候，比如说啦，我们以前有填充对不对？你那个时候有没有填充呢？选词填充有没有？((Researcher 点头)) 有哦。那有没有一个就是给你填充，没有给你选择的？也有对不对？现在他们已经没有了哦。因为全部都是 multiple choice，你知道吗？然后他们在学习，在小学一二年级的时候，你知道他们是教汉语拼音的	29:34-30:14

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	吗? not even a single word. 已经不再是笔画了。	
Samuel:	对, 是很明显的一个水平方面的一个调整啦。那他们现在比较看重的是所谓的听和说。写, 其实对他们来说其实已经是不重要了。对他们来说, 现在因为电脑科技的发达嘛, 你已经不需要去记得怎么写这个字。譬如说, 我在打文件的时候, 你可以用拼音来拼出我所需要的文字, 对不对? 所以对于现在的教育来说, 他们认为来说, 写已经不是很重要的一环, 所以他们比较看重的是听和说。还有就是看, 就是认字。写, 已经比较少。所以, 填充这种啊, 他要去记得怎么去写这个字, 这已经是不在他们的范围之内了。So you can see the trend over these few years, where how they set the question paper , are totally different from what we have last time.	30:15-31:36
Researcher:	How do you think all these feelings and all these factors that you mentioned right, you mentioned a variant of factors just now, how does it affect how you want to manage your son's language ?	31:37-31:56
Samuel:	(2.0) 很不幸的, 我们必须跟着制度走。哈哈 ((Laughs)) 其实很多时候, 因为你毕竟还是得把你的重点, 把那个制度方面来做一些稍为的调整。所以对我们这边来说, 我们也会做出一个相对的重心的调整啦, 这是肯定的。就是说, 当你, 譬如说当你去买一些作业给他做的时候, 你不可能去要求一些比较, 比较难, 一些比较深奥的作业给他去进行。因为, 当你认为说他会做得比较辛苦, 所以我们就必须说是去配合这个课程的变化, 然后去调整我们自己给他的课外作业的作法的选择啦。所以无形中, 也是我们自己本身也在做这个调整啦。跟着政策的变化所做的调整。	31:57-33:16
Researcher:	那你说你们现在会比较有意识, 比较刻意地去加强他的说话, 他说中文的要求等等的时候, 是否也是因为你们刚刚提到的这些因素在影响着你们的这个决定? 或者说提高了你们对某一方面的意识?	33:17-33:42
Yvonne:	Uhhh (2.0)	33:43-33:45
Samuel:	其实有一度, 我们比较没有注意的时候哦, 他的程度好像掉得特别厉害啦。然后我们发现说他已经没有办法把一个句子很好的完整地整理出来。 所以我们大概从两三年以前啊,	33:46-34:23
Yvonne:	对	34:23
Samuel:	所以我们才会在那个时候觉得说, 我们需要重新调整那个步伐。	34:23-34:40

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	所以才会说有比较注重在这方面的情况。在这一点呢，可能应该就是说跟政策比较没有关系啦。因为我们 make an observation, 然后才看到这样的情况，所以才做出这样一个调整。	
Researcher:	所以你刚才说的是有关他说话的情况，你们观察到他的改变，跟能力的降低是吧？	34:41-34:52
Samuel:	[可以这么说吧]	34:53-34:55
Yvonne:	[是的]	
Researcher:	那你们怎么跟他说呢？	34:56-34:57
	(2.0)	34:57-34:59
Yvonne:	什么意思？	34:59
Researcher:	就是你们是自己私底下讨论，然后有跟他说，还是你们就自己静静地做出改变呢？	35:00-35:08
Samuel:	有啊，我们有告诉他。他也知道的啊。我们觉得这种东西不需要瞒着他啦。因为必须让他了解，知道他的问题所在。	35:09-35:22
Researcher:	然后我很想，我很有兴趣知道你们怎么跟他说？	35:23-35:25
Yvonne:	((Laughs)) 应该就是跟他讲说“你的华语讲得很糟”。一开始我们要很严肃地告诉他， we are discouraged with your Chinese. ((Laughs))	35:26-35:44
Samuel:	这种东西我们比较不会拐弯抹角啦，会比较直接地跟他说了。	35:45-35:49
Yvonne:	对。	35:49
Researcher:	所以你们只是跟他说，你们觉得他的华语说的很差，然后现在要比较注意一下是吧？就是这样而已吗？还是？	35:50-36:00
Samuel:	然后在行动方面也做出一点点改变，也就是说，当他在说一些，要表达一些东西的时候，所用的语言是参杂一些英语或者纯粹是用英语的话，那我们会故意不回答他，或者是反问他：“噢，你说些什么？”来用这样的方式逼他，让他重新整理他的思绪，让他重新说出来。我们有做出这样的一个改变啦。	36:00-36:37
Researcher:	所以，这是你们这几年所做的努力啊？ ((Laughs))	36:38-36:42
Samuel:	对。	36:42
Yvonne:	其实很奇怪的是，他对于我们两个哦，他会很放纵他自己的语言。他就是会用参杂着英语啊，华语啊。有时候他碰	36:43-37:09

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	到他的阿嬷，或者是老一辈的，就是他的祖父母，他的外公外婆，他就会比较用心地要去讲华语。	
Samuel:	<p>可能一个原因是因为他的祖辈这部分都不会说英语啦。那他知道他说了英语也没用。所以他无形中就会被逼迫说需要用纯华语来跟他们交谈。那在另外一方面，你也看得到，他在跟他的表哥，就是同一辈的，他的表姐表妹表弟等等等，或者他自己本身的同学，对不起，是清一色的纯英语。</p> <p><i>Translation: One possible reason is because the older generation does not speak English at all. So he knows that there's no point in him speaking English. Thus, he is unwittingly forced to converse in pure Mandarin with them. Conversely, you will also see that, when he communicates with his brother cousin, his generation, his other cousin siblings etc, or his own classmates, sorry, it is purely in English.</i></p>	37:10-37:45
Researcher:	他在什么学校念书啊?	37:46-37:48
Samuel:	他在中华	37:49
Researcher:	他在中华啊	37:50-37:51
Samuel:	对	37:52
Yvonne:	我们刻意给他去中华的哦!	37:53-37:57
Samuel:	对，我们可以选中华的	37:58-37:59
Yvonne:	我们是要故意给他去中华的。	38:00
Samuel:	<p>我们的想法是说虽然是没有很明显的分别，可是在某一个程度方面，有一些学校他们还是会比较倾向于华文传统。比如说华中、比如说中华、比如说南桥、南华，一些比较属于传统华校的一些学校，他们在保留一些传统方面呢，可能会做得比较努力一些。可能就是有多一些华人传统的一些学会。比如说戏剧、比如说是华乐、他们会比较多一些这样的 activities。那么如果说你是去一些比较纯英校的，譬如说 ACS, Anglo Chinese, 或者是 St Andrew, 这种学校呢，他们在这方面，我相信会比较缺乏。所以我们的想法就是说，给他去这种比较传统华校的学校读书，念书的话呢，对他至少在接触华文，或者是华人传统方面应该会比较有帮助。</p> <p>其实这不是中立的哦，这不是他的学校。</p>	<p>38:01-39:22</p> <p>39:22-39:28</p>

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Yvonne:	我们左一边、右一边跟他说	39:29-39:31
Samuel:	他本来想去那个 (2.0) St Joseph	39:32-39:38
Researcher:	因为朋友也去，是吧？	39:39-39:40
Samuel:	好像有这样的情况.	39:41-39:43
Yvonne:	我们本身其实，我想要他去 St Joseph。他爸很过分哦，他爸就说，就把...后来，也 ok lah.因为 St Joseph 也离家里比较远。那他早上起来可能就要比较早。然后，中华就比较近我家，这样子。	39:43-40:09
	然后两个学校的程度其实也 Ok lah。就是以，以新加坡他们中学划分来讲的话，其实都是 Band 2 是吗？都是 Band 2。所以就选中华咯。	40:10-40:25
	他其实是挺， 他其实有考虑过。但他第一天去学校的时候，他有考虑过要转校。因为“很 cheena 啊， very cheena”。很坏哦，我跟你讲，就是这样子。	40:26-40:44
Researcher:	((Laughs)) 他现在中二还是中三？	40:45-40:46
Yvonne:	他现在中二	40:47
Researcher:	那他小学的时候呢？你们有因为语言的关系而特别给他选某一间学校吗？	40:48-40:58
Yvonne:	小学没有	40:59
Samuel:	小学倒是没有	40:59-41:01
Yvonne:	因为小学的时候，也是需要很多 peer support，好像他的祖母啊，她都需要在，因为他还小嘛。所以就选最靠近我们家的，Anderson。	41:02-41:24
Researcher:	嗯，嗯。Ok.	41:25-41:29
Yvonne:	因为听说 Anderson 是不错的。因为他的老师，有朋友在那边教书。朋友就说，挺好的学校啦。	41:30-41:38
Samuel:	还是不错的。	41:38-41:40
	因为没有就是说，想特别送他去某一个小学。因为在新加坡，小学如果你要踏入所谓心仪的学校的话，你必须做出很多很多很多事情。那是一个很凄惨、很痛苦的事情。所以我们决定不这么做，所以后来就送他到住家附近的学	41:41-42:12

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	校。 但是在中学的时候，毕竟中学是看个人的成绩的嘛，就不是说你必须做出怎么样的牺牲，父母要做怎么样怎么样，比如说家长会，才能够挤进去。那么在中学，反而是我们要求他选一间我们想要他去的学校。 那中华作为选择，就是说，我们认为传统华校啦。那应该会有一些帮助。	42:13-42:33 42:34-42:45
Yvonne:	其实没有耶 ((Laughs))	42:46-42:48
Samuel:	我不同意哦	42:49-42:50
Yvonne:	一点点啦，因为还是”aei, what you want arh?” 还是讲英语.	42:51-42:57
Samuel:	但至少，毕竟，毕竟，至少可能不是表现在语言方面。至少表现在一些他们的纪律方面。就是 discipline。很明显的可以看得出这些传统华校对于学生的 discipline 的要求会比较严格。Yah,	42:58-43:29
Yvonne:	对，对。	43:29
Samuel:	There is a trend.	43:30
Researcher:	因为小孩都一样是讲英语的，所以大家	43:31-43:32
Yvonne:	是啊	43:32
Researcher:	所以大家就已经，大家都为了同一个目的去选那个学校，可以结果大家都是讲英语的一起进去。	43:33-43:45
Samuel:	对啊	43:46
Yvonne:	其实他的一个表哥是在 ACS, Anglo Chinese。然后，就是很大的不同。就是他呢，就是一路就是英语的咯。那些父母亲，送去那边的，都是讲英语的，然后你去课外活动也是讲英语的。他们都没有讲有什么比较有华文， <i>Translation: Actually one of his elder cousin is in Anglo Chinese School. And that's a big difference. For him, it is all the way English. Those parents who sent their kids there, are all English-speaking. And when you go for extra-curricular activities, it is also all in English. They don't really have anything which has more Mandarin.</i>	43:47-44:18
Samuel:	华文的比较少	44:18
Yvonne:	对，对，对。就是中文学会那些，根本是没有的。一般上就是像 Rugby 啊，这样子的，类似这样子的一个背景。	44:19-44:38

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	所以他的华文程度，就是他表哥的华文程度，其实比起来，是比他还要糟的。	
Samuel:	是属于非常差的	44:39-44:41
Yvonne:	他可以，他可以一句华文都讲不出来哦。 <i>Translation: He can't, he can't say a single sentence of Mandarin.</i>	44:41-44:44
Samuel:	他完全讲不出来。 <i>Translation: He is totally not conversant.</i>	44:45-44:46
Yvonne:	讲不出来哦。他还要想很久，然后还想不出来。 <i>Translation: Not conversant at all. He needs to think for a long time, and even so, he is not able to figure out.</i>	44:46-44:49
Samuel:	对	44:50
Yvonne:	那种你知道吗，就是 Anglo Chinese。就是	44:50-44:53
Researcher:	Independent 是吗？还是 Barker?	44:53-44:54
Yvonne:	Independent.	44:55
Samuel:	其实是属于比较好的那一间，可是还是，就是看得出不同。就是还是看得出他跟我孩子之间的那个水平，对华文的接受程度真的有点接受不过来。	44:56-45:13
Yvonne:	所以那个时候就不要选 St Joseph，因为你就看到那个榜样。那个榜样。所以你就。 <i>Translation: So at that time, we decided we do not want to choose St Joseph (school) for him, because you have seen that example. That kind of example (a completely English schooling environment), so (this decision).</i> 不过我觉得有些学校，还是有尝试要提高，起码去提高他们自己本校的华文程度啦。就会比较好像，对不对，像中正啊、中华这些，起码就好像以前那些所谓很旧式的那种“礼仪廉耻”啊，他们还是有包括那些价值在里面的。	45:14-45:21 45:22-45:53
Researcher:	所以，也许你们可以谈一下，就是你希望你的孩子，作为一个在双语制度下接受教育的小孩，你对他有什么寄望？	45:54-46:11
Yvonne:	((Laughs))	46:12
Researcher:	或者说你们现在做这样多努力，你们现在对他有什么寄望？	46:13-46:18
	(4.0)	46:19-46:22
Samuel:	其实没有啦。	46:23-46:25

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Samuel, Researcher:	((Laughs))	46:25
Samuel:	没有什么寄望啦。其实, ((叹气)), <i>Translation: There's not much aspiration. Actually, ((sigh))</i>	46:26-46:30
Researcher:	寄望这个词可能太大了	46:31-46:32
Samuel:	As long as they can speak simple and fluent language, I think it's good enough. 至少不要忘本啦。我们只能这么这么说。至少说, 甚至说你去到中国, 去到台湾, 去到大中华地区, 你不至于丢脸, 我想, 这就算是 okay 了吧。而且现在华文都是这样一个教法啊。 <i>Translation: At least they will not forget their roots. We can only say this. At least, when you go to China, Taiwan, the "big Chinese area", you will not lose face. I think, that will be considered as "okay". Moreover, now Chinese is taught in this way.</i>	46:33-47:05
Researcher:	Yvonne 呢?	47:06
Yvonne:	(3.0) 其实对我来讲, 只要能够讲, 只要能够讲一个比较完整的句子, 然后能够跟别人交谈, 然后别人能够了解你要讲些什么东西。我们两个其实是一个很 easy 的 parents, 你知道吗? 我们是不会刻意要求。我曾经跟他讲过, 只要你上课, 年年上完课, 这是用广东话讲的, “年年升班, 科科合格”。That's what I want, so we are very easy parents actually. 所以基本上, 能够讲, 我们就 okay 了。 <i>Translation: (3.0) Actually, to me, as long as (Jackson can) speak in a complete sentence (in Mandarin), so that (he) can hold a conversation (in Mandarin) with other, and others will be able to understand what he has said. We are actually very easy parents, you know? We will not have high demands. I have ever told him, as long as he attends school, completes his classes every year, this is said in Cantonese, "get promoted every year, pass every subject". That's what I want, so we are very easy parents actually. So basically, as long as he can speak (Mandarin), we are okay.</i> 所以我们, 其实他是到了那几年, 他的华文程度其实就一下子掉了下来, 其实这也是我们比较讶异的是, 为什么会	47:07-47:56

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
	这样。因为一开始的时候，他小的时候其实华文程度真的是不错的。他能够很完整地讲出一句话，在他大概三四岁的时候。所以可能那个时候，我们本身也比较说，比较放纵。然后并没有说，很在意说他整个，就是很 manage 他整个的 language. 直到大概小四小五那个时候，那我们可能就比较掉以轻心，那个时候其实就是，可以说就是他退步比较多的时候。所以现在我们能够做的就是把他拉回来，就是让他能够讲完整的句子。我们要求的其实就是这么简单而已。就这样子。	47:57-49:03
	可是这样讲，你跟他讲话他也是讲到“哩哩啦啦”我跟你讲。	49:03-49:08
Researcher:	他睡觉了吧？	49:09
Yvonne:	他睡了，他睡了。只是说，你可以跟他讲，如果你要的话，你就是跟他用电话交谈，他会跟你讲英语。你叫他讲华语，他会跟你讲英语，不然他一定会跟你讲到“哩哩啦啦”这样子。	49:10-49:25
Samuel:	现在会好一些啦。	49:26
Yvonne:	对，对。其实近这一年，其实进步很多。其实这一年他进步很多。	49:27-49:34
Researcher:	因为你们有要求？	49:35-49:38
Yvonne:	不但只是这样子啦	49:39-49:40
Samuel:	我们有做出其它一些调整啦。比如好像说我们有给他上上补习班这样子。所以，无形中他的程度比较上去了一些。	49:41-49:55
Researcher:	所以，当你说程度的时候，是表现在口语方面，还是包括成绩？	49:56-49:59
Samuel:	都有。成绩也进步了。	50:00-50:52
Yvonne:	我们的补习老师是一位中国来的老师	50:03-50:09
Researcher:	一对一吗？还是？	50:10-50:11
Samuel:	一对一。一对一地在给他补习。	50:12-50:15
Yvonne:	因为小孩子就是看个人，就是好像他跟他的祖父母，就会很想要，很刻意地去讲标准的华语。然后，当他对补习老师的时候，也一样的，他会比较想要去讲标准的华语。就是因为每个星期这样训练他	50:16-50:40
Samuel:	无形中就进步了。	50:41
Yvonne:	对	50:42

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Researcher:	所以那个补习，老师注重的包括口语方面，而不只是在书写方面对吗？	50:43-50:53
Samuel:	对，对。都有。甚至是拿新闻这样，当作朗读这样来做。那其实我们这方面，我们这一点可能做得不够好啦。比较少让他朗读一些文章。所以有个时候，他就看了文章，读不出来，或者读得很糟糕，很多字句都读得不好。那很明显，他最近已经开始改变了。他至少能够把一些文章给比较完整地朗读出来。这是他的一个大改变啦。	50:54-51:35
	所以，到最后还是说一个环境本身，会让小孩子他本身的发展造成一个很大的，后期的影响是很大的。	51:36-51:47
Yvonne:	其实，就算是学校里，我怀疑学校也不可能有那个机会给每个人出来朗读。	51:48-51:53
Samuel:	对。比较少啦，机会比较少。然后现在我们这样做的话，他真的是进步得很多很多。	51:54-52:03
Researcher:	然后还包括你们旅游的地方，你们也选择中国对吗？	52:04-52:10
Yvonne:	Eh, 对呀！	52:11
Samuel:	((Laughs)) 在以前我们，在他小的时候，去的那个，因为可能时间比较充裕啦，我们去英国啦，去法国啦，去澳洲啦等等，这些比较长时间的一个旅行。那最近可能也因为他上了中学嘛，可能时间比较少了，那可能就比较靠近亚洲这边的国家。然后中国，我本身也比较常跑中国大陆嘛，然后也比较熟悉。所以常常跑去那边。	52:12-52:15 52:16-52:52
Yvonne:	所以他也已经习惯了。((Laughs)) 所以我们会继续往中国大陆发展。	52:53-53:00
Researcher:	((Laughs))	53:00
Samuel:	也不一定是中国啦，也就是说可能这一带啦，可能台湾啦，香港啦	53:00-53:06
Yvonne:	((Laughs)) 很 (recording not clear)，你不觉得吗？	53:07-53:10
Researcher:	很可怜？你刚才这样说吗？	53:11-53:13
Yvonne, Samuel:	((Laughs))	53:14-53:16
Yvonne:	我是觉得这样子，给他们制造这样子的环境，连我们去旅行，我们都要去一个讲华语的地方这样子	53:17-53:27
Researcher:	哦，所以真的是有意识的啊？我是看 facebook 的照片，所以我这样猜。	53:28-53:32
Yvonne:	其实潜意识里，我们都会说要往亚洲的地方走啦。因为其它国家，	53:33-53:41

Transcript 5: Interview with Samuel and Yvonne

Speaker	Transcription	Time check
Samuel:	其实是其中一个考量啦	53:42-53:43
Yvonne:	对，没错。因为好像去到其它国家，通常好像都是年底嘛，年底就是天气方面可能就比较冷，所以就，嗯，对。	53:44-53:56
Researcher:	Ok, 谢谢你们！	53:57